

CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS

Education in Early 2nd Millennium BC Babylonia

The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany

Alexandra Kleinerman

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2nd Millennium BC Babylonia

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The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany

by

Alexandra Kleinerman



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In memory of Raymond Westbrook

CONTENTS

Tables	ix
Acknowledgments	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
Manuscripts	xix
 Chapter One Introduction	 1
 Chapter Two Content	 11
2.1 The Identification and Structure of SEpM	13
2.1.1 Physical associations between SEpM compositions	13
2.1.2 Thematic associations between SEpM compositions	27
2.2 The Nature of SEpM Composition Groups	29
2.2.1 The royal correspondence (SEpM 1–5)	29
2.2.2 The Nippur correspondence and related compositions (SEpM 6–22)	31
2.2.2.1 Daily-life letters	31
2.2.2.1.1 Agricultural letters (SEpM 11–13)	31
2.2.2.1.2 Letters about people away from home (SEpM 15–17)	32
2.2.2.1.3 Letters about scribes (SEpM 21–22)	35
2.2.2.2 Letters of petition and prayer (SEpM 6–8, 18–19)	35
2.2.2.3 Votive inscriptions	37
2.2.2.4 Miscellany	40
2.3 Additional Nippur Letters (ANL)	42
2.4 Characters	43
2.4.1 Ur-saga, Lugal-nesaĝe, Lugal-šu (SEpM 6–8, 18, 20)	43
2.4.2 Witnesses (SEpM 14)	45
2.4.3 Scholars (SEpM 18, 21–22; ANL 4, 9)	46

2.5	Shared Linguistic Features	49
2.5.1	Greeting formula	49
2.5.2	Exhortation	51
2.6	Discussion	53
Chapter Three Compilation		57
3.1	Literary Letters and Related Miscellany	60
3.1.1	Thematic groupings of SEpM compositions	60
3.1.2	Relationships between juxtaposed thematic groups	61
3.1.3	Compilations combining letter collections	62
3.1.4	Compilations combining SEpM miscellany and “wisdom” or model contracts	63
3.2	Wisdom Compilations	64
3.3	Other: The Decad, Model Court Records and Inana-Dumuzi Songs	66
3.4	Discussion	69
Chapter Four Curriculum		75
4.1	Tablet Typology	81
4.2	Frequency of Individual Compositions	83
4.3	The Use of Poetic Language	86
4.4	Shared Lines	89
4.5	Discussion	91
Chapter Five Correspondence		95
Chapter Six Editions		107
6.1	Introductory Remarks	107
6.2	Colophons	108
6.3	Akkadian Glosses and Translations	111
6.4	Editions	113
Appendix Textual Matrices		203
Bibliography		321
Index of Sumerian Words		345
Index of Referenced Texts		358

TABLES

Table 1. The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany (SEpM)	12
Table 2. SEpM compilations	13
Table 3. Provenance of SEpM and ANL manuscripts	22
Table 4. Find spots of Nippur SEpM manuscripts from the 3rd campaign	24
Table 5. Known find spots of Ur manuscripts	26
Table 6. ù-na(-a)-dug ₄ variants	50
Table 7. Compilation tablets containing “wisdom” compositions	65
Table 8. Tablet typology of SEpM and the Decad	81
Table 9. Tablet typology of SEpM, the Decad, EnlNam and NofV	83
Table 10. Frequency of individual SEpM compositions	84

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Alexandra Kleinerman
Ithaca, NY, April 2011

ABBREVIATIONS

*In general, abbreviations follow those of the Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago and the Sumerian Dictionary of the University of Pennsylvania.

New Abbreviations

ANL Additional Nippur Letters
SEpM Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany

Abbreviations of Sumerian Compositions

Abbreviation	Title	Most Recent Edition(s) ¹
Adulterer	The Adulterer	Alster 2005b
Al	The Song of the Hoe	Farber 1997; Edzard 2000
Angim	The Return of Ninurta to Nippur	Cooper 1978
BER	Ballad of the Early Rulers	Alster 2005b
BiFi	Bird & Fish	Herrmann 2010
CA	Curse of Agade	Cooper 1983
CKL	Correspondence of the Kings of Larsa	Brisch 2007
CKU	Correspondence of the Kings of Ur	Michalowski 2011
Dialogue 1	Streit Zweiter Schulabsolventen	Volk, unpub. ms.
Dialogue 2	Enki-talu & Enki-heĝal	Volk, unpub. ms.
Dialogue 3	Enki-mansum & Girini'iša	Volk, unpub. ms.
Diatribes B	Diatribes against Engar-dug	Sjöberg 1972b
Diatribes C	He is a good seed of a dog	Sjöberg 1972b
DG	Death of Gilgameš	Cavigneaux, al-Rawi 2000

¹ For additional bibliography, especially in the case of compositions published only in older editions, the reader is referred to the extensive bibliography available on the ETCSL website (www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk).

Table (*cont.*)

Abbreviation	Title	Most Recent Edition(s)
DI	Dumuzi & Inana	Sefati 1998
DuDr	Dumuzi's Dream	Alster 1972
Eb A	Enlil-bani A	Kapp 1955
Edubba A	Schooldays	Kramer 1949
Edubba B	A father to his misbehaving son	Sjöberg 1973
Edubba C	Advice of a supervisor to scribe	Vanstiphout 1997
Edubba D	Scribal Activities	Civil 1985
EDNan	Elegy on the death of Nannaya	Kramer 1960; Sjöberg 1983
EG	The debate between Ewe & Grain	Alster & Vanstiphout 1987
EJN	Enki's Journey to Nippur	Al-Fouadi 1969
ELA	Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta	Mittermayer 2009
EnkNinh	Enki & Ninhursaga	Attinger 1984
EnkNinm	Enki & Ninmah	Benito 1969
Enlil A	Enlil & the Ekur	Reisman 1970
EnlNam	Enlil & Namzitara	Civil 1974–77
EnlNinl	Enlil & Ninlil	Behrens 1978
EnlSud	Enlil & Sud	Civil 1983
EnmEns	Enmerkar & Ensuhgirana	Berlin 1979
FI	Farmer's Instructions	Civil 1994
Fowler & Wife	The Fowler & His Wife	Alster 2005c
Fox & Enlil	The Fox & Enlil as a merchant	Alster 2005c
GEN	Gilgameš, Enkidu & the Netherworld	Gadotti, in prep.
GH	Gilgameš & Huwawa	Edzard 1990, 1991
Goose & Raven	Goose & Raven	Alster 2005c
HGCS	How Grain Came to Sumer	Bruschweiler 1987; Bottéro & Kramer 1993; Römer 1993
HF	Home of the Fish	Civil 1961
HT	Heron & Turtle	Peterson 2007
Hyena & Dog	Hyena and Dog	Alster 2005c

Table (*cont.*)

Abbreviation	Title	Most Recent Edition(s)
IdD B	Iddin-Dagan B	Römer 1965
IdD D	Iddin-Dagan D	Gurney & Kramer 1976; 19ff.
Inana B	nin me-šár-ra	Zgoll 1997
Inana C	in-nin šà gur ₄ -ra	Sjöberg 1975
InDesc	Inana's Descent to the Netherworld	Sladek 1974
InEb	Inana & Ebih	Attinger 1998
InEnki	Inana & Enki	Farber-Flügge 1973
InF	Inana F	Römer 1969
InGd	Inana & Gudam	Alster 2004
InstrŠur	Instructions of Šurrapak	Alster 2005c
InstrUrN	Instructions of Ur-Ninurta	Alster 2005c
IšD A+V	Išme-Dagan A+V	Ludwig 1990
IšD B	Išme-Dagan B	Römer 1965
IšD J	Išme-Dagan J	Klein 1998
IšD I	Išme-Dagan I	Civil 1968; Klein 1989
IšE B	Išbi-Erra B	VanDijk 1978
KTH	The Keš Temple Hymn	Gragg 1969
LiA	Lipit-Ištar A	Römer 1965
LiB	Lipit-Ištar B	Vanstiphout 1978
LiC	Lipit-Ištar C	Römer 1965
Lisina	The tale of Lisina	
LSG	Lazy Slave Girl	Alster 2005c
Lugalbanda I	Lugalbanda in the mountain cave	
Lugalbanda II	Lugalbanda and the Anzu bird	Wilcke 1969
LN	Lament over Nippur	Tinney 1996
LSUr	Lament over Sumer and Ur	Michalowski 1989
LUnug	Lament over Uruk	Green 1984
LUR	Lament over Ur	Römer 2004
Lu-diġira	Message of Lu-diġira to his mother	Civil 1964; Gadotti 2010
Lugale	The Deeds and Exploits of Ninurta	van Dijk 1983

Table (*cont.*)

Abbreviation	Title	Most Recent Edition(s)
Man & God	Man and His God	Kramer 1955; Klein 2006
Médecin	Le médecin d'Isin	Attinger 2008
Millstone	Song of the Millstone	Civil 2006
MM	Marriage of Martu	Römer 1989b; Kramer 1990; Klein 1993; Klein 1997
NaBi	Nanše & the Birds	Veldhuis 2004
NinĝNina	Ninĝešzida-Ninazimua	Wilcke 1988, 248; Jacobsen and Alster 2000, 317f. and 333 n. 33
NinTurt	Ninurta and the Turtle	Alster 1971/1972, 2006
Nisaba A	Nisaba A	Hallo 1970
Nk A	Ninkasi A	Civil 1964a
NV	“Nothing is of Value”	Alster 2005c
Nun A	Nungal A	van Dijk 1960; Sjöberg 1973b; Attinger 2003
RS B	Rim-Sin B	Brisch 2007
SgLeg	The Sumerian Sargon Legend	Cooper & Heimpel 1983
SP	Sumerian Proverb Collections	Alster 1997
ŠA	Šulgi A	Klein 1981
ŠB	Šulgi B	Castellino 1972
ŠS C	Šu-Sin C	Sefati 1998
ŠV	Šulgi V	Ludwig 1990
TH	Temple Hymns	Sjöberg & Bergmann 1969
UrProverb	Sumerian Proverbs from Ur	Alster 1997
UrN A	Death of Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma A)	Flückiger-Hawker 1999
UrN B	Ur-Namma B	Klein 1989; Flückiger- Hawker 1999
UrN C	Ur-Namma C	Flückiger-Hawker 1999

Table (*cont.*)

Abbreviation	Title	Most Recent Edition(s)
UrN D	Ur-Namma D	Flückiger-Hawker 1999; Tinney 1999b
UrNin E	Ur-Ninurta E	Römer 1965
Utu-heĝal	The Poem of Utuheĝal	Römer 1985; Frayne 1993
WS	The debate between Winter and Summer	

Abbreviations of Akkadian texts

CH	Codex Hammurabi	Roth 1995
Ludlul	Poem of the righteous sufferer	Lambert 1996

The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany (SEpM)

1. Abba'indasa to Šulgi 1 (CKU 4)
 - a. Aradmu to Šulgi 3 (CKU 7)
2. Sin-tillati to Iddin-Dagan
3. Iddin-Dagan to Sin-tillati
4. Nanna-ki'ag to Lipit-Ištar
5. Lipit-Ištar to Nanna-ki'ag
6. Ur-saĝa to a king
7. Lugal-nesaĝe to a king
8. Lugal-šu to a king
9. The Tumul text
10. An Axe for Nergal
11. Letter to the Generals
12. Ur-Enlila to the ensi and saĝĝa
13. An ensi and saĝĝa to a king
14. Public Announcement of the Loss of a Seal
15. Ilaba-tah-lugalĝa to his brothers
16. Ugubi to his mother
17. Šamaš-ṭabu to Ilak-nu'id
18. Lugal-nesaĝe to Enlil-massu
19. Inanaka to Nintinuga
20. Dedication of a Dog to Nintinuga
21. Inim-Inana to Enlil-massu
22. Inim-Inana to Lugal-ibila

*Additional Nippur Letters (ANL)*²

- ANL 1. Gudea to his God
- ANL 2. Gudea-Enlila to Diġir-mansum
- ANL 3. Iddatum to Sumutara
- ANL 4. Igmil-Sin to Nudimmudsiga
- ANL 5. Ku-Ninurta to a King
- ANL 6. Lu-Ninurta to Inana-andul-duga
- ANL 7. Nabi-Enlil to Iter-piša
- ANL 8. Nabi-Enlil to his colleagues
- ANL 9. Nabi-Enlil to Diġir-inim-siga
- ANL 10. Saġ-lugalbi-zu to Nur-Kabta
- ANL 11. [...] -Kabta to Enlil-bani
- ANL 12. X1 to Y1 (Ni 9780)

² In alphabetical order by sender.

MANUSCRIPTS

Key to Number Sigla

N = Nippur
 Ki = Kish
 Nv = Nineveh
 Ma = Mari
 Su = Susa
 Uk = Uruk
 Ur = Ur
 X = Unknown

Key to Tablet Type Sigla

* = catchline only
 III* = single composition with catchline
 III[*?] = double line ruling and/or end of composition not preserved;
 tablet may have had a catchline
 III-l = *linginnu* (square single column tablet)
 III-m = single column tablet containing multiple compositions
 III-s = tablet is fully preserved but contains only a section of the
 composition
 ? = tablet type unclear
 (x) = tablet which I was not able to collate
 (n/a) = tablet to which I did not have access to either a copy or
 photo

Number	Museum Sigla	Publication	SEpM Composition	Tablet Type
N1	3N-T8 = IM 58335	Ali 1964, pl. xxxvii	1	III(?—middle fragment)
N2	3N-T80 = A30135	Ali 1964, pl. xxxi	1a, 2, 3(*)	III-m
N3 (n/a)	3N-T109 = A 30146		9	III
N4	3N-T255 = UM 55-21-287	Ali 1964, pl. xlv	13	III
N5	3N-T292	Ali 1964, pl. xxxii = ArOr 34, 1966 292f.	20, 21*	III*

Table (*cont.*)

Number	Museum Sigla	Publication	SEpM Composition	Tablet Type
N6	3N-T293 = UM 55-21-300	Ali 1964, pl. lii	12, 13*	III*
N7	3N-T310 = IM 58417		10, 11*	III*
N8	3N-T369 = A 30221 +3N-T418 = A 30237	Ali 1964, pl. xxvii	19	III
N9	3N-T389	Ali 1964, pl. liii	1, 2*	III*
N10	3N-T436 = UM 55-21-337	Behrens 1988, 31; Black et al. 2004, xxxf.	10	III
N11	3N-T479 = UM 55-21-332	Ali, pl. xxx	15	III
N12	3N-T480 = A 30249	Ali 1964, pl. xlix	8 (ll. 1-15)	III-s (ll. 1-15)
N13	3N-T516 = A 30259	Ali 1964, pl. xxviii	X1, X2, X3, 7	P
N14	3N-T521 = A 30262	Ali 1964, pl. xxviii	7	III
N15	3N-T522 = IM 58533	Ali 1964, pl. xxxvi	17	III
N16	3N-T530 = A 30263	Ali 1964, pl. xlvi	18	III
N17	3N-T542 = UM 55-21-343 + 3N-T900, 5	Ali 1964, pl. xxvii	19	III
N18	3N-T668 = UM 55-21-372		[X], 11	III-m
N19	3N-T790 = A 30297	Ali, pl. xlii	15	III
N20	3N-T827 = UM 55-21-381	Ali 1964, pl. xlviii	8 (ll. 1-15)	III-s (ll. 1-15)
N21	3N-T901, 37	Ali 1964, pl. l = SLFN 9	9	III[*?]
N22	3N-T902, 67	SLFN 24	21	III
N23	3N-T904, 155	Ali 1964, pl. xliv = SLFN 23	7	III[*?]
N24	3N-T904, 169	SLFN 22	22	III
N25	3N-T905, 213	SLFN 24	19	III[*?]
N26	3N-T907, 263	SLFN 24	8	III[*? s?]
N27	3N-T907, 266	Ali 1964, pl. xlvi = SLFN 24	18	III
N28	3N-T916, 339	SLFN 4 70	10	III[*?]
N29	3N-T917, 362	Ali, pl. xlii = SLFN 26	22	III
N30	3N-T918, 410	SLFN 21	3	I
N31	3N-T918, 417 (+) 3N-T919	SLFN 25 (+) Ali 1964, pl. xlvii = SLFN 25	17, X	I
N32	3N-T923, 495	SLFN 26	11, 12*	III*
N33	3N-T923, 502		6	I
N34	CBS 2206 (+) UM 29-15-341	Ali 1964, pl. xlviii (+) Ali 1964, pl. l	8	III

Table (*cont.*)

Number	Museum Sigla	Publication	SEpM Composition	Tablet Type
N35	CBS 2231 + UM 29-15-384	PBS 15 65	2, 3, 4, 10, 14, 11	I
N36	CBS 3950	to be published by J. Peterson	10, X	I
N37	CBS 6971		7	III[*?]
N38	CBS 7128		19, 21*	III*
N39	CBS 7132	to be published by J. Peterson	5	III[*?]
N40	CBS 7848 + CBS 7856	PBS 13 46 + Ali 1964, pl. xxxviii	1a, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	P
N41	CBS 7849 + Ni 4574 + Ni 9705	PBS 13 48 + ISET 1 149 + ISET 1 123	9, 10, 12, 13, 15	P
N42	CBS 7857	Ali 1964, pl. xlv; SL 44	7, 8, ANL 7	P
N43	CBS 7929	Ali 1964, pl. xxix, Alster 1987, 58f.	8	III[*?]
N44	CBS 8007	STVC 100	1	III[*?]
N45	CBS 9892		15	III
N46	CBS 10069		1	III[*?]
N47	CBS 10187	Ali 1964, pl. xxix	7	III[*?]
N48	CBS 10346		14	III[*?]
N49	CBS 10405		19	III[*?]
N50	CBS 10471	PBS 5 7	9	III-s
N51	CBS 12614	PBS 5 6	9	III[*?]
N52	CBS 13407		18	III
N53	CBS 13968	Ali 1964, pl. xxxix	12, 13, 14	III-m
N54	CBS 13985		16	III[*?]
N55	CBS 13986		21, 19*	III*
N56	CBS 14000	PBS 1/2 91	21	III
N57	CBS 14046	PBS 1/2 134	19	III
N58	CBS 14049 + N 846	Ali 1964, pl. xl	10, 11, 20, 19	I
N59	CBS 14114	Ali 1964, pl. xlvii	17	III
N60	CBS 14115	Behrens, 1988, 32	20 (ll. 15–18)	III-s
N61	CBS 14116	PBS 1/2 93	16	III
N62	CBS 14117	PBS 1/2 94	19 (ll. 1–13)	III-s
N63	CBS 14118	PBS 1/2 95	17 (ll. 2–11)	III-s
N64	CBS 15079		22	III
N65	CBS 19794	PBS 1/2 92	16	III
N66	Ni 2271	BE 31 47	18 (ll. 1–12)	III-s
N67	Ni 2376	BE 31 21	7 (ll. 11–23), 8*	III-s*
N68	Ni 2758	ISET 2 117	7	III
N69	Ni 2786	ISET 2 120	1a, 2*	III*

Table (*cont.*)

Number	Museum Sigla	Publication	SEpM Composition	Tablet Type
N70	Ni 3023 + Ni 4144 + Ni 4452 + Ni 4473 + Ni 4483 + Ni 4484	SLTN 131 + ISET 2 123 + ISET 2 121 + ISET 2 22 + ISET 1 101 + ISET 1 67 (Civil 1972, 83ff; Alster 2005b, 274)	X1, Millstone, LazySlaveGirl, 4 proverbs + 9, 14, 20, 10 + X2, NV A, NV B	I
N71 (n/a)	Ni 4508x		X, 13*	III*
N72 (n/a)	Ni 4586		1a, 2*	III*
N73	Ni 4592	ISET 2 21 = UMB 17/2 fig. 5	1	III[?]
N74	Ni 5218 (+) CBS 8739	ISET 1 124 (+) STVC 8	16, 17*	III*
N75	Ni 9533	ISET 2 123	17	III[?]
N76	Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 3431 + N 7314* + UM 29– 16–139 (+ N 3461*)	ISET 2 114 + Ali, pls. xxiv–xxv; * new joins to be published by J. Peterson	1–9, 12–22	I
N77	Ni 9703	ISET 2 120	13, 14, 17, 18, P CKU 5	
N78 (n/a)	Ni 9704		9	I
N79	Ni 9706	ISET 2 111–112 = <i>OrNS</i> 22 pls. 38–39 = UMB 17/2 fig. 4)	9, 22 + 4 CKU	I
N80	Ni 9707	ISET 1 179	15	III
N81	Ni 9708 + Ni 1281	ISET 1 179 = UMBS 17/11 15 + ISET 2 116	4, 6*	III*
N82	Ni 9811	ISET 1 185	[X], 20	III[-m]
N83	Ni 9968	ISET 1 200	7	I? P? *flat flake with 4 lines preserved on one side
N84	Ni 13163	ISET 3 57	10, 11	I
N85	Ni 13225 + Ni 2269 + Ni 2796 + Ni 4499	ISET 3 55 + ISET 2 123 + SLTN 129 + ISET 3 61	7, [X?], 8, 9, 10, 11, [...], 12, 16	I
N86	UM 29-13-20 + UM 29-13-24 (+ un-numbered fragment)	Ali 1964, pl. liii; (new join to be published by J. Peterson)	1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9	I

Table (*cont.*)

Number	Museum Sigla	Publication	SEpM Composition	Tablet Type
N87	UM 29-16-480	to be published by J. Peterson	6, 7, 8	I
N88	N 1513		3, 4*	III*
N89	N 1555		1	III
N90	N 1562	Ali 1964, pl. xlix	8	III
N91	N 1793	Ali 1964, pl. xxxiii	18 (ll. 1–5, [...], 11–12)	III-s
N92	N 2949		8	III[*?]
N93	N 3116	Ali 1964, pl. 1	6	III
N94	N 3754 + N 229		11, X	III-m
N95	N 5875	to be published by J. Peterson	6, 7	I
N96	N 6394	to be published by J. Peterson	6	?
N97	N 7442 + N 7913 + N 7925	to be published by J. Peterson	4	I
N98	HS 1454	TMH NF 3 34	9	III
N99	HS 1456	TMH NF 4 43	1 (ll. 11–22)	III-s
N100	HS 1495	TMH NF 4 44	18	III
N101	HS 1506 + CBS 12614	TMH NF 3 35 + PBS 5 6	9	III
N102	HS 1511	TMH NF 4 45	10	III
Ur1	U 7741	UET 6/2 173	19, UrL1, 1, 4, I UrL3, 8	
Ur2	U 16272	UET 6/2 175	18	III
Ur3 (x)	U 16833	UET 5 862	13	III
Ur4	U 16849	UET 6/2 177	6	III
Ur5 (x)	U 16853 + n/a	UET 6/2 174 + UET 6/3 537	7, 3 CKU, 19	I
Ur6 (x)	U 16857	UET 6/2 178	1	III
Ur7 (x)	U 16859	UET 8 60	9	III
Ur8	U 16894A	UET 6/2 176	18	III
Ur9 (x)	U 16894B	UET 6/2 179	1	III
Ur10	U 16900G	UET 6 180	19	III
Ur11 (x)	U 169000	UET 8 61	3	III
Ur12 (x)	Up	UET 8 58	9	III
Ur13 (x)	Uq	UET 8 59	9	III[*?]
Ur14 (x)	n/a	UET 6/3 560 (149)	6	III
Ur15 (x)	n/a	UET 6/3 564	4	?
Is1 (x)	IB 1706	Krebernik 1992, 105, fig. 10, pl. 56	6	III
Kil (x)		PRAK 1 B 88	8	III[*?]

Table (*cont.*)

Number	Museum Sigla	Publication	SEpM Composition	Tablet Type
Ma1 (x)	00-T78	*photo courtesy of A. Cavigneaux	12, 11, X, 15, 17, 14, 20	I
Nv1 (n/a)	K20167		2, 3	?
Su1 (x)		MDP 27 207	1	IV
Uk1	W 16743a	AUWE 23 159, no. 114, photo in Z4 44, pl. I	6	III-l
Uk2	W 16743b = VAT 21575	AUWE 23 160 no. 115, photo in Z4 44 2, pl. II	6	III-l
Uk3 (x)	W 16743gb	AUWE 23 168 no. 143	2, CKU 1	I
X1 (x)	AO 8198	*photo courtesy of P. Michalowski	6	III
X2 (x)	AO 8199	*photo courtesy of P. Michalowski	7	III-s
X3 (x)	AO 8200	*photo courtesy of P. Michalowski	3	III
X4	Ash 1922-258	OECT 5 25	22, four LL	P
X5	Ash 1923-408	OECT 13 1	5	III
X6	BM 54894	Leichty 1986, 159	4, CKU 13	I
X7	BM 79102		2, X, 4*	III-m
X8 (x)	Crozer 206	*photo courtesy of P. Michalowski	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8	I
X9 (x)	Edin 09-405-32	BL 5	6	III
X10 (x)	IM 11053, 163	TIM 9 16	19	III
X11 (x)	MS 2290		20, 19	III-m
X12 (x)	MS 3316		7	III
X13 (x)	MS 3356		11, X*	III*
X14 (x)	NBC 1303	BIN 2 53	7	IV
X15 (x)	NBC 7800		model contracts, 14	I
X16 (x)	NBC 11452		2	III
X17	VAT 867	VAS 17 36	6	III-l
X18	VAT 9157	VAS 17 44	X1, X2, X3, ANL 9, X4, 9	I
X19 (x)	Wilson Li09		19	III
X20 (x)	YBC 6458		1	III
X21 (x)	YBC 6711		6	III
X22 (x)	YBC 7170		18	III
X23 (x)	YBC 7175		12	III
X24 (x)	YBC 12074		14	III
X25 (n/a)	YBC 16550		7	III
X26 (n/a)	(unpubl. private coll.)		12	?

Additional Nippur Letters (ANL)

	Museum No.	Publication No.	ANL letter	Tablet type
N103	3N-T454 + 3N-T918, 435= UM 55-21-329		ANL 7	III
N104	3N-T901, 48	SLFN 23	ANL 7	III
N105	3N-T904, 175	Michalowski JCS 30	ANL 10	III
N106	3N-T919, 455	SLFN 23	ANL 7	III
N107	CBS 4575	PBS 12 32	ANL 4	III
N108	CBS 12651		ANL 12	III[*?]
N109	CBS 14041 + N2740 + N7890 (=N7267)	to be published by J. Peterson	ANL 7	I
N110	Ni 972	ISet 1 126 = BE 31, 29	ANL 9	III
N111	Ni 4326+ Ni 9534	ISet 2 119	ANL 6, ANL 11	III-m
N112	Ni 4491 + Ni 4433	ISet 2 121 + ISet 1 180	ANL 8	III
N113 (n/a)	Ni 9535		ANL 5	?
N114	UM 29-13-520	Van Dijk 1989, 452	ANL 9	I
N115	UM 29-15-972	WO 9 13	ANL 6	III[m?]
N116	UM 29-15-995		ANL 1	III
N117	UM 29-16-41	Michalowski 1978	ANL 3, 10	III-m
N118	HS 1444	TMH NF 3 56	ANL 1	III
N119	HS 1522	TMH NF 3 57	ANL 2	III
Su2		MDP 27 104	ANL 1	IV
Ur16 (x)		UET 6/3 563	ANL 7	III[*?]
X24 (x)	LB 1013	TLB 3 173	ANL 10	III
X25 (x)	MS 2287		ANL 7	III
X26 (x)	PTS 260	YOS 15 5	ANL 6	III

Catalogues

	Museum No.	Publication No.	Letters
CATUr1 (x)		UET 6/2 196	16
CATUk1 (x)	W 17259an	van Dijk 1989, AUWE 23 no. 112	(CKU), (letter prayers), 9, 21, 15, 16, ANL 3, Etel-pi-damu to Marduk, 10, ANL 6, 19, X, 17, X, 18, 13, 12, 11, 20 [...]

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany, or SEpM, is a collection of eighteen literary letters and four miscellaneous compositions of varied subjects tied together not only by their (primarily) epistolary genre but also by their association with the city of Nippur. In conjunction with this corpus are additional Nippur letters, abbreviated ANL for ease of reference. These are an additional twelve letters and letter fragments attested exclusively in the Nippur scribal schools. Together these compositions were one small piece of the Old Babylonian Sumerian scribal school curriculum, and, indeed, the bulk of Sumerian literature known today comes from tablets recovered from such schools. This study provides not only a new edition of these texts but also an evaluation of the scribal curriculum as a whole and the place of SEpM within it.

Archaeological investigation provides evidence that scribal training in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia took place within private houses, with a single teacher instructing only several students at any one time.¹ Textual evidence informs us that at school Akkadian-speaking children learned to read and write Sumerian, a language that had been dead for several centuries.² The format of their curriculum was relatively standardized.³ Whether in Nippur, Ur, Isin or Sippar, scribal training consisted of an elementary phase, in which students were introduced to the cuneiform writing system as well as Sumerian vocabulary, grammar, and sentence structure, and an advanced phase, in which they studied a wide array of literary compositions.

While scribal materials are found throughout Babylonia during the first half of the second millennium, most of our evidence comes from

¹ Veldhuis 1997, 26 summarizes the evidence at Nippur, Isin, Sippar-Amnanum, Ur and Mari. The OB scribal school and its curriculum have been the subject of much research over the past decade. See most recently Delnero 2006, Robson 2001, Veldhuis 2000 and Volk 2000 with references. For the portrayal of the school within Sumerian literature see Sjöberg 1976; Volk 1996.

² Michalowski 2005.

³ Veldhuis 2004, 60.

Nippur.⁴ It is tempting to see the Nippur-centric nature of our scribal material as a result of either the accident of discovery or the extensive attention Nippur has received from archaeologists. Textual evidence, however, suggests that, in fact, Nippur was the primary center of scribal learning. Most notably, Šulgi boasts that he established schools in Nippur, as well as in Ur, his capital.⁵

Based largely on this claim, it is assumed that scribal education underwent a major restructuring during his reign.⁶ Given the dearth of school materials from the Ur III period, however, there is little concrete evidence to substantiate this. Conversely, there is unambiguous evidence for a second overhaul of the scribal curriculum during the succeeding Isin dynasty. Most notable is the complete break in the lexical tradition between the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennium, which is marked by a new structure of the lists.⁷ Moreover, a number of hymns to the Isin kings were introduced into the curriculum, especially in its earliest stages.⁸

The seemingly far-reaching nature of such reforms led some to suggest that they were instituted by a central authority. For instance, Veldhuis argued that “it is unlikely that any institution but the central administration could have initiated and carried through the creation and nation-wide introduction of such a complex new program.”⁹ The impetus for change in the early Isin period is clear, as the Isin kings attempted to model themselves as the successors to the Ur III state. However, this only explains the addition of certain compositions (namely royal hymns) into the curriculum and not the overhaul of the lexical texts or the absence of certain Ur III literary texts.

It is now becoming apparent that our knowledge of Sumerian scribal education is based almost entirely on a limited number of schoolhouses in Nippur. The degree of curricular standardization throughout Babylonia is of course contingent on further study, especially of the Ur

⁴ For a summary of the results of the Nippur excavations see Delnero 2006, 35ff.

⁵ ŠB 308–315.

⁶ Steinkeller 1991, 16f.

⁷ Veldhuis 1997, 8; 2004, 61.

⁸ Veldhuis 2004, 61. While a full study of the difference between the Ur III and OB curriculum awaits the publication of Rubio’s forthcoming volume of Ur III literature, it is worth noting an Ur III literary catalogue in which many incipits of royal hymns cannot be identified. This makes it clear that at least some Ur III texts were not adopted into the OB curriculum (Brisch 2007, 16).

⁹ Veldhuis 2004, 61.

material,¹⁰ yet it has been observed that a certain degree of curricular variation does occur, both regionally and between different schools within the same city.¹¹ It is possible to suggest that an Isin controlled central authority may have been behind the introduction of certain texts into the curriculum in the regions under direct control of the crown (e.g. Isin and Nippur). However, it is much more likely that any other reform and resulting uniformity in the later OB period were due to private scribal networks rather than to a large-scale central mandate. Indeed, evidence from the ANL letters (ANL 4, 9) suggests as much.¹²

The study of Sumerian continued long after it ceased to function as the primary administrative language.¹³ Although legal and administrative texts used Sumerian throughout the OB period,¹⁴ most of what was learned in school was not practical knowledge.¹⁵ Indeed, it is curious that there is so little evidence for learning to write in Akkadian.¹⁶

Michalowski was the first to suggest that Sumerian scribal training was intended to create a club of bureaucrats, whereby it “[did] not really matter what they learned as long as they learned it and it made them different.”¹⁷ Veldhuis agreed with this,¹⁸ but further specified that the subject matter of the curriculum was in fact essential in as much as it created an “invented tradition” in order to emphasize the extent of Babylonian cultural unity.¹⁹ As such, the scribal school

¹⁰ That the Ur curriculum may have been very different see e.g. the comments of Brisch 2007, 29. Note also that we do not have comparable contexts at Ur and Nippur; the Ur houses are not identifiable as “schools” in the same way as is House F.

¹¹ See for instance the remarks of Delnero 2010b n. 70; Robson 1999, 52.

¹² Gadotti and Kleinerman 2011.

¹³ A literary spoof of this is found in the MB text “Le médecin d’Isin,” in which an Isin doctor travels to Nippur to collect a fee but cannot understand the Sumerian speaking Nippureans (Attinger 2008, 48–49).

¹⁴ E.g. Robson 2001, 61 notes that of the thirty odd administrative documents written after Hammurabi’s conquest of Nippur in 1762 found in area TA, over two-thirds were written in Sumerian.

¹⁵ Michalowski 1983, 226. See also Veldhuis 2004, 66, who noted for instance that many of the bird names in the composition NaBi never occur elsewhere.

¹⁶ See for instance Kraus 1959–1962 and Michalowski 1983 for model Akkadian letters, to which can now be added George 2009, No. 16. George’s recent publication of nineteen OB Akkadian literary texts in the Schøyen collection, some of which are clearly set within the scribal milieu (e.g. Nos. 14, 18–19), may start to change this picture.

¹⁷ Michalowski 1991, 52. See also Michalowski 2003, 110f.

¹⁸ Veldhuis 2004, 66.

¹⁹ Veldhuis 2004, 67.

functioned as an institution, whereby it represented “a pattern of social behavior that follows conventional rules, and is provided with moral authority.”²⁰ As time passed, the curriculum acquired the sanction of tradition and would have been maintained precisely for this reason, even in periods of geo-political fragmentation.

* * * * *

In elementary, or Phase I, education students began by learning to inscribe cuneiform signs, starting with individual wedges and moving on to more complicated combinations. Afterwards, students learned the syllabic values of the shapes they had just mastered and progressed from there to learn long lists of Sumerian vocabulary by rote as well as more complex cuneiform signs. Elementary education included lessons in metrology and grammar and ended with the pupil’s first exposure to Sumerian sentences in the form of model contracts, and to poetic language in the form of proverbs.

The order of the elementary Sumerian scribal curriculum as well as the pedagogical function of each stage are relatively well established, at least in Nippur.²¹ It is generally assumed that the program of advanced, or Phase II, education, similarly followed a linear order.²² For instance, it is likely that upon completion of Phase I, students—at least at Nippur—began their literary education by learning a group of four compositions conventionally called the Tetrad.²³ That this was the first group of literary texts to which students were exposed is suggested primarily by the formats of the tablets on which these compositions occur.²⁴

Scribal exercises are found on five different types of tablets, the largest of which are tablets with multiple columns on each side (Type I).²⁵ Another type is the three-dimensional prism with four to six or even eight sides (Type P). These tablets feature either an entire composition, hundreds of lines long, or multiple shorter compositions, each typically around twenty lines. A third type, single-column tablets, consists of

²⁰ Veldhuis 1997, 27f.

²¹ For a summary of the OB elementary curriculum see most recently Veldhuis 2004, 83f.

²² For this assumption see Delnero 2006, 92.

²³ On the nature of the Tetrad and its curricular purpose see Tinney 1999.

²⁴ Delnero 2006, 88; Tinney 1999.

²⁵ This tablet typology was first proposed by Civil 1979, 5 restated in Civil 1995, 2308 and later modified by Tinney 1999, 160 and Delnero 2006, 95f.

excerpts of longer compositions or one complete shorter composition (Type III).

While Type I, P and III tablets often contain literary compositions, some contain lexical or sign lists instead. Elementary exercises of this type are found also on two other tablet types. Lentils (Type IV) are small round tablets that, because of obvious size limitations, hold only several lines—usually one or two entries of a lexical list or one proverb—and so served as practice tablets in the early phases of training. Lexical entries and proverbs are also written on “Student-Teacher” tablets (Type II) so called because they contain, on the obverse, one column with the teacher’s text and one with the student’s copy. The reverse of Type II tablets were used to practice previously studied texts.²⁶

Because the Tetrad is the only group of literary compositions whose excerpts occur on both elementary tablet types—Types II and IV²⁷—as well as types more often associated with advanced education—Types I, III, and P,—it is assumed that the Tetrad was the first group of compositions learned upon completion of Phase I.²⁸

While excerpts of other literary texts are occasionally found on Type IV tablets, excerpts of only a half-dozen or so compositions occur on Type II tablets.²⁹ Thus, it is generally assumed that those that do formed a small core of literary texts that were learned early on, alongside the Tetrad.³⁰

Among the compositions found almost exclusively on tablet types I, III and P, ten of the most popular belong to a set conventionally called “the Decad”.³¹ This corpus included hymns to kings, to gods and goddesses, and to a temple. It also featured a Gilgamesh story, several myths and one composition based on an elaborate word play. The

²⁶ Veldhuis 2000, 384.

²⁷ Delnero 2006, 88; Tinney 1999, 167.

²⁸ Delnero 2006, 88f.; See also Vanstiphout 1979; Tinney 1999, 159.

²⁹ Such compositions include a hymn to the goddess Lisina, the fable of the Goose&Raven, a school dialogue among others. Only two, however, occur more than once on Type II tablets: LiB, EnlNam. For the complete list see Veldhuis 1997, 65f.

³⁰ Veldhuis 1997, 67.

³¹ That the decad consists of a unified group of texts with a more or less fixed order see e.g. Delnero 2006, 29, 146.

varied texts in this collection all served to promote Veldhuis' "invented tradition."³²

Recently Robson has shown that a second group of compositions, the so-called House F Fourteen, was almost as popular as the Decad in one particular Nippur school.³³ This group again included compositions reflective of the various categories of Sumerian literature including four Eduba texts, two debates, instructions, hymns to gods and kings, a second Gilgamesh story, and a city lamentation.³⁴

As the above survey indicates, in the advanced stage of Sumerian education, students learned and copied a wide array of literary compositions. However, unlike the well-established arrangement of the Elementary Phase curriculum, the curricular order of the Advanced Phase has never been satisfactorily addressed. Indeed, there is not even a general consensus on exactly which compositions do and not belong to this phase.

One way to approach the investigation of a possible curricular order in advanced education is through compilation tablets (*Sammeltafeln*). Compilation tablets are Type I or Type P tablets that contain two or more compositions. While short compositions of roughly one- or two-dozen lines primarily are found grouped together in such collections, compilation tablets can contain significantly longer texts.³⁵

Most often, compositions of a similar type are grouped together and manuscripts sometimes reduplicate the same series of compositions. Because these texts are school material, they must have had some pedagogical function. What this function was, however, has yet to be systematically evaluated. As such, a close analysis of compilation tablets and the compositions that appear on them should contribute to a better understanding of the OB scribal curriculum.

In this investigation, then, I examine one corpus of scribal exercises—a group of short compositions of varied contents that I label the Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany, or SEpM—which frequently occur

³² As Brisch 2007, 29 argued these compositions "focus on the image of the school and the king, the importance of the scribal profession, as well as the prominence and superiority of the city of Nippur and its deities. Furthermore, the poems give students a historical, cultural, and religious background imbuing them with pride in their profession and in their school at Nippur, and adding a sense of tradition."

³³ Robson 2001, 52ff.

³⁴ Robson 2001, 54.

³⁵ For example, two compilation tablets are known, each containing five Decad compositions (IB 1511, UM 89-14-1) (Delnero 2008, 32, 99 n. 299f.).

on compilation tablets. The occurrence of these letters in roughly the same order on compilation tablets as well as the use of catchlines—which give the first line of the next composition in a series—indicates that in antiquity SEpM was considered a series with a relatively stable order, at least at Nippur.

The associations of the compositions that make up the SEpM were initially identified by F. Ali's 1964 publication of one Type I tablet (N76) that he termed "Letter Collection B," one of the largest compilation tablets of literary letters and miscellany, containing the full text of 20 of the 22 pieces I place in SEpM. Although Ali included in his edition attestations of "Collection B" letters preserved on other compilation tablets, he did not consider variations in the order or choice of the compositions preserved on these manuscripts. Rather, he presented these texts as a collection based on the contents and order of this one compilation tablet.

Since Ali's initial publication, many more exemplars of compilation tablets containing the so-called Letter Collection B pieces have come to light.³⁶ While some manuscripts preserve the order of the compositions of Ali's manuscript, others feature variations, both in terms of which compositions are included and the order in which they are recorded. Moreover, some manuscripts add new letters and remove others. It is now clear that Ali's Letter Collection B is an insufficiently defined construct as it is based only on a single compilation tablet.

Indeed, there appears to be at least three sets of literary letters studied in the Nippur OB scribal schools, the Correspondence of the Kings of Ur (CKU),³⁷ the Correspondence of the Kings of Larsa (CKL)³⁸ and SEpM. The division is based primarily on how these groups of letters are divided on compilation tablets, so that there is very little overlap between the three corpora. As such, the divisions seem to reflect emic categories, although the titles for the groups are, of course, modern.

SEpM includes 22 individual compositions: 18 epistles and four miscellaneous compositions, including two votive inscriptions, the Tumul Text—a list of rulers who built and rebuilt the sanctuary of Ninlil—and an announcement of the loss of a cylinder seal.³⁹ Editions of each

³⁶ Already in 1970, for instance, Wilcke (1970, 67–69) was able to identify manuscripts Ali did not include.

³⁷ Michalowski 2011.

³⁸ Brisch 2007.

³⁹ See editions (Ch. 6.4) for references to previous publications.

composition are included in this study.⁴⁰ Also included here are an additional twelve letters known from Nippur (Additional Nippur Letters, or ANL), but which almost never occur on SEpM compilations. Indeed, many are one-off compositions although some occur on compilation tablets with each other.⁴¹

As presented in Chapter 2, “Content,” the identification of texts that belong to SEpM and their order is based on evidence for the use of this collection at Nippur. While these letters had a presence throughout southern Mesopotamia during the OB period, sufficient evidence with which to identify a similar collection is, at present, lacking from other sites. In this chapter I review the content of the individual compositions and examine what the collection as a whole represents.

Chapters 3, “Compilation” and 4, “Curriculum,” present an examination of SEpM compositions in order to shed light on both the nature and function of compilation tablets and more generally on scribal education. In particular, Chapter 3 considers the principles by which individual compositions were ordered or clustered within manuscripts. Chapter 4 focuses on the pedagogical function of SEpM within the Old Babylonian scribal school. As noted above, the order of the scribal curriculum of advanced education has been elusive to scholars thus far. In Chapter 4, I use SEpM to offer a new solution to the curriculum question.

⁴⁰ Only eclectic texts, textual matrices and translations of SEpM 1, 1a and 9 are provided for completeness sake. For full editions see Michalowski 2011 and Michalowski 2006, respectively.

⁴¹ Not included in this study, but to be published separately by the author, are Sumerian literary letters not found at Nippur. The list is as follows:

At Ur:

1. Inim-Enlila to a king (UET 6 173)
2. X to Utu (UET 6/2 182)
3. X to Y (UET 6 173)

At Uruk:

1. X to Nanna (W17259w; Cavigneaux 1996, 113)

Unprovenanced:

1. Etel-pi-Damu to Martu (YBC 5641 = JAOS 88, 89; Hallo 1998)
2. Etel-pi-Marduk to Marduk (cf. Bock 1996)
3. Kug-Nanna to Ninšubur (Binning 3; Walker and Kramer 1982)
4. Lugal-ibila to Girmisag (AUAM 73.3179)
5. Sin-šamuh to Enki (YBC 4620, YBC 7205, YBC 8639)
6. X to Zimri-Lim (A 1258 + S 160; Charpin 1992, 26f.)

Once the place of the letters within the curriculum is established, Ch. 5, “Correspondence,” examines the Sumerian literary epistolary corpus at large. In particular, by drawing on comparative material from the Late Babylonian schools as well as the those of New Kingdom Egypt, this chapter explores why an epistolary genre was included as part of the scribal curriculum.

CHAPTER TWO

CONTENT

SEpM is one of several collections of literary letters¹ that were used within the OB scribal schools. Others include the Correspondence of the Kings of Ur (CKU), consisting of letters to and from the kings of the Ur III state,² and the Correspondence of the Kings of Larsa (CKL), containing two letter prayers from Sin-iddinam, king of Larsa, and two letters of petition to king Rim-Sin.³ In addition, there are a number of letters that do not seem to be a part of a fixed collection, the so-called ANL, although there is no evidence that this corpus was considered a collection in antiquity.⁴ The occasional occurrence of ANL letters on compilation tablets with SEpM⁵ suggests that these letters were associated with SEpM, probably because of the thematic similarities.

SEpM consists of 18 letters and four miscellaneous compositions (Table 1). The corpus can be subdivided based on the identity of the correspondents. SEpM 1–5 are letters to and from Ur III and Isin period kings. SEpM 6–22 are letters to and from Nippur elites or compositions otherwise associated with that city.

Several factors suggest that SEpM was considered a collection in antiquity. First is the frequent occurrence of compilations containing SEpM texts in a relatively fixed order. Moreover, the use of catch-lines provides similar evidence that SEpM compositions belonged in a standardized sequence as catchlines are generally used to connect sections of a single composition or multiple texts in a series.⁶ Finally,

¹ The Sumerian epistolary genre is defined as any OB curricular text containing the following components: (1.) the heading, familiar from archival letters: PN_i(-ra) ù-na-(a)-dug₄ / PN₂(-e) na(-ab)-bé-a; (2.) an argument; and (3.) a closing formula. (Michalowski 1976, 9). On the native designations for “letter” occurring occasionally in OB literary catalogues see Michalowski 1980–83, 52; Brisch 2007, 31.

² Michalowski 2011.

³ Brisch 2007.

⁴ For letters of this type known only from sites outside Nippur see Chapter 1 n. 41.

⁵ N42, N72, X16.

⁶ Delnero 2006, 33f.

as SEpM compositions rarely are found on compilation tablets with letters from other collections, we can be certain that the SEpM compositions formed a series distinct from the CKU, LL, and ANL.⁷

In this chapter, I investigate the nature of SEpM, focusing first on the identification and structure of the corpus. I then examine the content of the compositions within SEpM, as well as linguistic features of the letters. Included in this discussion is an analysis of ANL and the relationship of this corpus to SEpM.

Table 1. The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany (SEpM)

SEpM	Title	Ali
1	Abba'indasa to Šulgi 1 (CKU 4)	B1
1a	Aradmu to Šulgi 3 (CKU 7)	
2	Sin-tillati to Iddin-Dagan	B2
3	Iddin-Dagan to Sin-tillati	B3
4	Nanna-ki'ag to Lipit-Ištar	B4
5	Lipit-Ištar to Nanna-ki'ag	B5
6	Ur-saĝa to a king	B6
7	Lugal-šu to a king	B7
8	Lugal-nesaĝe to a king	B8
9	The Tumul Text	B9
10	An Axe for Nergal	
11	Letter to the Generals	
12	Ur-Enlila to the ensi and saĝĝa	B10
13	An ensi and saĝĝa to a king	B11
14	Announcement of the Loss of a Seal	B12
15	Ilaba-tah-lugalĝa to his brothers	B13
16	Ugubi to his mother	B14
17	Šamaš-tabu to Ilak-nu'id	B15
18	Lugal-nesaĝe to Enlil-massu	B16
19	Inanaka to Nintinuga	B17
20	Dedication of a dog to Nintinuga	B18
21	Inim-Inana to Enlil-massu	B19
22	Inim-Inana to Lugal-ibila	B20

⁷ Only two letters, SEpM 1 and 1a (CKU 4, 7), are shared by two collections, although letters from one collection occasionally occur on compilation tablets with other collections. The reasons for this are discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1 *The Identification and Structure of SEpM*

2.1.1 *Physical associations between SEpM compositions*

In order to determine the stability of SEpM as a collection in antiquity, the following table presents the order of compositions in all SEpM prisms, multi-column tablets, and single column tablets containing multiple compositions or catchlines.

Table 2. SEpM compilations⁸

Prisms⁹

N13 (3N-T516; Ali 1964, pl. xxviii): [...], X1, X2, [...], X3, SEpM 7, [...]

Only two faces of this prism are preserved. Given the angle of their join (104°), the prism must have originally contained five sides. The two sections of letters preserved on the first face and the section of a letter preserved before SEpM 7 in the second face are too fragmentary to allow for identification. The traces do not match any known letters.

N40 (CBS 7848 + CBS 7856; PBS 13 46 + Ali 1964, pl. xxxviii): SEpM 1a, SEpM 2, SEpM 3, SEpM 4, SEpM 5, SEpM 6, SEpM 7, SEpM 8, [...]

Although only three faces of this prism are preserved, the original likely contained the entire collection. This is certainly possible given that the angle of the joins (130°) allows for a seven-sided prism.

N41 (CBS 7849 + Ni 4574 + Ni 9705; PBS 13 48 + ISET 1 149 + ISET 1 123): [...], [SEpM 8], SEpM 9, SEpM 10, [SEpM 11], SEpM 12, SEpM 13, [SEpM 14], SEpM 15, [...]

Four faces of this prism are preserved, but it likely contained the entire collection written over nine faces (given the 140° angles).

face a': [SEpM 8?],¹⁰ [SEpM 9:1–17]

face b': SEpM 9:18–31, SEpM 10:1–12, [13–16], [SEpM 11]

face c': SEpM 12, SEpM 13, [SEpM 14]

face d': SEpM 15:1–5, [6–12], [SEpM 16, SEpM 17]

⁸ See the list of manuscripts on p. xi for publication details.

⁹ When possible, angle measurements were used to determine the original number of sides the prisms must have contained (number of sides = 360 / (180-angle °)).

¹⁰ Based on the line count, there is room for all of SEpM 8 on this face. Although the few remaining signs are not consistent with this letter, the end of the letter is so poorly preserved that it is likely this reconstruction of SEpM 8 here is justifiable.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

N42 (CBS 7857; Ali 1964, pl.xliv; SL 44): [...], SEpM 7, SEpM 8, ANL 7, [...]

Small fragment of a prism with two faces preserved. For discussion of this grouping see Chapter 3.1.3. This prism originally contained seven-sides (130° angle).

N77 (Ni 9703; ISET 2 120): [...], SEpM 13, SEpM 14, [...], SEpM 17, SEpM 18, [X?], CKU 5, [...]

Three faces of this prism are preserved, but given the 140° angle it must have contained nine originally. This, it is likely that the prism contained the entire SEpM, perhaps with CKU 5 as a stand-in for CKU 4 (SEpM 1), although in a deviant position. For discussion of this grouping see Chapter 3.1.3.

X4 (Ash 1922–258; OECT 5 25): SEpM 22, Sin-iddinam to Utu, Ninšatapada to Rim-Sin, Nanna-manšum to Ninisina, Sin-iddinam to Ninisina

See Brisch 2007, 78 for the reconstruction of this four-sided prism.

Multi-Column (Type I) tablets

N30 (3N-T918, 410; SLFN 21): [...], SEpM 3, [...]

Top edge fragment of a multi-column tablet with at least 2 columns per side. The first 2 lines of SEpM 3 are in the second preserved column. The traces at the end of the preceding column are unidentifiable. The reverse is destroyed.

N33 (3N-T923, 502): [...], SEpM 6, [...]

Middle fragment of the reverse of a multi-column tablet with at least two columns on each side. The obverse is completely destroyed. SEpM 6 is written in the 2nd column; only the final verticals of the first column are preserved.

N35 (CBS 2231 + UM 29–15–384; PBS 15 65): [SEpM 1], SEpM 2, SEpM 3, SEpM 4, SEpM 5, [X], SEpM 10, SEpM 14, SEpM 11

Left hand, bottom edge of a multi-column tablet with two columns per side, containing the first half of the collection.

obv.

col. i: [SEpM 1], SEpM 2:[1–6], 7–11, SEpM 3:1–4

col. ii: [SEpM 3:5–19], SEpM 4:[1–10], 11–15, SEpM 5:1–5

rev.

col. iii: [SEpM 5:6–17], [X = approx. 20 lines], [SEpM 10:1–13]

col iv: SEpM 10:14–16, SEpM 14, SEpM 11:1–6, [7–13]

Table 2 (*cont.*)**N36** (CBS 3950): [...], SEpM 10, X, [...]

Middle section of a multi-column tablet with the right edge preserved. Only the top wedges of the last sign remain on the line following SEpM 10, and are impossible to identify. The traces on the reverse are also unidentifiable.

N58 (CBS 14049 + N 846; Ali 1964, pl. xl): [...], SEpM 10, SEpM 11, [...], SEpM 20, SEpM 19, [...]

Middle section of a multi-column tablet. While only two columns are preserved on the obverse, three are clear on the reverse. Without edges, reconstruction is difficult. Assuming only three columns per side and that SEpM 19 follows immediately after SEpM 20, then each column contains roughly 30 lines of text. This would be about 180 lines total. If the average SEpM composition is 18 lines that would mean there were originally 10 compositions, or roughly half of the entire collection preserved on this tablet.

Reconstruction:

obv.

col. i: [...]

col ii: SEpM 10:[1-2], 3-16, SEpM 11:1-9, [10-13]

col iii: [...]

rev.

col. iv: [...], SEpM 20: [1-2], 3-7, [+ approx. 4 more lines]

col. v: [rest of SEpM 20 = approx. 6 more lines], SEpM 19:[1-9], 10-20, [21-25]

col. vi: [...]

N70 (Ni 3023 + Ni 4144 + Ni 4452 + Ni 4473 + Ni 4483 + Ni 4484; SLTN 131 + ISET 2 123 + ISET 2 121 + ISET 2 22 + ISET 1 101 + ISET 1 67): X1, Millstone, LazySlaveGirl, proverbs, SEpM 9, SEpM 10, SEpM 14, SEpM 20, X2, NV A, NV B

This tablet (four columns per side) is reconstructed by Civil 1972, 89f. For discussion of its grouping see Chapter 3.1.4.

obv.

col. i(?)-iii 2': X1,¹¹ Millstone

col. iii 3'-14': LazySlaveGirl

col. iii 15'-18': 4 proverbs

rest of col. iii-iv: SEpM 9¹²

¹¹ Although Civil 1972, 90 speculated this was a letter, there is nothing beyond the use of the first and second person pronouns to demonstrate this, and the remaining lines are too broken to provide an adequate understanding of the text.

¹² Civil 1972, 90 suggested that something else may follow SEpM 9. This is unlikely give that the sequence of miscellaneous SEpM compositions is otherwise uninterrupted.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

 rev.

col. v.: SEpM 10, SEpM 14, SEpM 20

col. vi: X2¹³

col. vii: NofV A

col. viii: NofV B

N76 (Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 3431 + N 7314* + UM 29–16–139 (+ N 3461); ISET 2 114 + Ali, pls. xxiv–xxv): SEpM 1–9, 12–22

Multi-column tablet with four columns per side.

obv.

col. i: SEpM 1, SEpM 2, SEpM 3: 1–3

col. ii: SEpM 3: 14–19, SEpM 4, SEpM 5, SEpM 6: 1–5

col. iii: SEpM 6: 9–14, SEpM 7, SEpM 8: 1–17

col. iv: SEpM 8: 18–25, SEpM 9

rev.

col. v: SEpM 12, SEpM 13, SEpM 14

col. vi: SEpM 15, SEpM 16, SEpM 17, SEpM 18: 1–8

col. vii: SEpM 18: 11–20, SEpM 19, SEpM 20: 1–9

col. viii: SEpM 21: 6–15, SEpM 22

N78 (Ni 9704): [...], SEpM 9, [...]

Small fragment of a multi-column tablet. See Michalowski 2006, 151 for discussion.

N79 (Ni 9706; ISET 2 111–112): [SEpM 1–8], SEpM 9, [SEpM 10–21], SEpM 22, CKU 1, CKU 2, CKU 3, CKU 13

Michalowski 2011, describes this tablet as follows:

“This is a sizable fragment of what was a very large tablet that had at least five columns on each side, as evidenced from the reverse. The remains of two columns on the obverse indicate that the tablet originally began with SEpM; col. i’ is impossible to identify with any known letter, but it may be SEpM 8, and col. ii’ has SEpM 9, the *Tumal Inscription*. Only traces are preserved

¹³ Like the first composition preserved on this tablet, Civil (1972, 90) suggested this composition may be a letter to Ninisina or Nintinuga, presumably because of the reference to a list of diseases that parallels OB Lu Recension B col. v 50 (MSL 12 189f). However, there is again nothing to prove with certainty that this composition is an epistle and so it is not treated as such here. Moreover, that the four SEpM compositions included here are the only four non-epistles in SEpM, further suggests that there were no letters in this particular compilation.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

of the first column of the reverse, which must have contained SEpM letters. Column ii contains the end of the last letter from that collection (SEpM 22), followed by ArŠ1 (1). Judging by the reconstructed outline, it does not seem likely that any other CKU letters were included on this tablet. I would therefore assume that the tablet contained the whole of SEpM, followed by ArŠ1 (1), ŠAr1 (2), ArŠ2 (3), and PuŠ1 (13).¹⁴

N84 (Ni 13163; ISET 3 57): [...], SEpM 10, 11, [...]

Small fragment from the bottom right of a multi-column tablet. The small writing suggests it originally may have contained the whole collection.

obv.

last col: [... SEpM 10:1–2], 3–12

rev.

first col: SEpM 1–11, [...]

N85 (Ni 13225+ Ni 2269 + Ni 2796 + Ni 4499; ISET 3 55 + ISET 2 123 + SLTN 129 + ISET 3 61): SEpM 7, [X?], SEpM 8, [SEpM 9], SEpM 10, SEpM 11, [...], SEpM 12, SEpM 16

Multi-column tablet with two columns per side. The top of the obverse and bottom of the reverse are preserved.

obv.

col. i: SEpM 7: 1–20, [21–23, X?, SEpM 8 1–6]

col. ii: SEpM 8: 7–14, [15–25, ...]

rev.

col. iii: [...] SEpM 9:32–33, SEpM 10:1–16, SEpM 11:1–11

col. iv: [...] SEpM 12, SEpM 16

N86 (UM 29-13-20 + UM 29-13-24 + un-numbered fragment; Ali 1964, pl. liii): SEpM 1, [SEpM 3?], SEpM 2, SEpM 4, [SEpM 5], SEpM 6, [SEpM 7], SEpM 8, SEpM 9

Section of a tablet with 3 columns per side. The top edge of the obverse is preserved. This tablet seems to have contained the first nine compositions of SEpM, with approximately 40 lines of text per column.

obv.

col. i: SEpM 1:1–5, 18,¹⁵ [19–29], [SEpM 3?, SEpM 2]

col. ii: SEpM 2:10–12, SEpM 4:1–4, [5–19], [SEpM 5]

col. iii: SEpM 6:[1–6], 7–9, [10–14], [SEpM 7]

¹⁴ Michalowski 2011.

¹⁵ Tablet omits lines 6–17.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

rev.

col. iv: [SEpM 7], SEpM 8:[1-4], 5-9

col. v: [SEpM 8], SEpM 9:[1-4], 5-10

col. vi: [SEpM 9 21-33]

N87 (UM 29-16-480): [...], SEpM 6, SEpM 7, SEpM 8, [...]

Middle fragment, no edge preserved. Two columns are distinct on the obverse. The reverse is destroyed. The tablet may have originally contained the entire collection.

obv.

[...]

col. i': [...], SEpM 6:8-13, [14], [SEpM 7]

col. ii': [SEpM 7], 23, SEpM 8:1-4 [...]

[...]

N95 (N 5875): [...], SEpM 6, SEpM 7, [...]

Middle fragment, no edge preserved. Two columns are distinct on the obverse. The reverse is destroyed.

N97 (N 7442 + N 7913 + N 7925): [...], SEpM 4, [...]

Middle fragment, no edge preserved. Two columns are distinct on the obverse, although only traces of the second. The reverse is destroyed.

Ma1 (00-T78): [...], SEpM 12, SEpM 11, [...], X, SEpM 15, [...], SEpM 17, SEpM 14, [...], SEpM 20

Middle fragment with two columns per side. The surface of the obverse is badly worn, especially in col. ii.

obv.

col. i: [..., SEpM 12:1-9], 10-12, SEpM 11:1-7 [...]

col. ii: [...], X,¹⁶ SEpM 15:1-11, [12, ...]

rev.

col. iii: [..., SEpM 17:1-16], 17-19, SEpM 14:1-12, [...]

col. iv: [...] SEpM 20: 5, 9, 6-7, 10, 14, 16, 16a, [...]

Uk3 (W 16743gb): [...], SEpM 2, [...], CKU 1, [...]

Bottom fragment with two columns per side.

¹⁶ The first two signs of the last line of this compositions, lugal-ĝu₁₀, can belong to any number of SEpM compositions.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

obv.

col. i: [...], SEpM 2:1–4

col. ii: [SEpM 2:5–12, ..., CKU 1:1–14], 25–28

rev.

col. iii: CKU 1: 29–32, [...]

col. iv: blank?

Ur1 (UET 6/2 173; UET 6/2 173): SEpM 19, UrL 1,¹⁷ SEpM 1, SEpM 4, UrL 3, SEpM 8, (X)

Bottom half of a tablet with two columns per side. Based on col. i, there seems to have been approximately 35 lines per side. For discussion of the groupings on the Ur compilation tablets see below and Chapter 3.1.3.

obv.

col. i: SEpM 19:[1–21], 22–25; AUrL 1:1–10

col. ii: [AUrL 1 approx. 15 lines], SEpM 1:1–9, 11–15, 17–19, 21–23¹⁸

rev.

col. iii: SEpM 1:24–29, SEpM 4:1–11, [12–19], [AUrL 3, approx. 10 lines]

col. iv: AUrL 3 (7 lines), SEpM 8:1–10, [11–25]

Ur5 (UET 6/2 174 + UET 6/3 537; UET 6/2 174 + UET 6/3 537): [X], SEpM 7, CKU 1, CKU 2, CKU 23, SEpM 19, [...]

Multi-column tablet with probably three columns per-side (although there could have been more). The bottom and left edges of the obverse are preserved. Reconstruction is based on a three column tablet.

obv.

col. i : [X], SEpM 7:1–11, [room for 6 or 7 more lines]

col ii: [SEpM 7], CKU 1:[1–19], 20–36, CKU 2:1–5

col iii: [CKU 2:6–30], CKU 2:31–34, CKU 23:1–9

rev.

col iv: CKU 23 [ll. 10–16], 17–29, [30–39]

col v: SEpM 19 [l. 1], ll. 2–16 [...]

col vi: [...]

X6 (BM 54894; Leichty 1986, 159): [...], SEpM 4, [...], CKU 13

Left-hand fragment of a multi-column tablet. Michalowski suggests that the tablet originally “contained a version of SEpM, followed by CKU letters,” perhaps CKU 1, 2, 3 and 13 as did N76 (Ni 9706).¹⁹

¹⁷ Inim-Enlila to a King.

¹⁸ Tablet omits ll. 10, 16 and 20.

¹⁹ Michalowski 2011.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

X8 (Crozer 206): SEpM 1–8

Multi-column tablet with two columns per side.

X15 (NBC 7800): model contracts, SEpM 14

Multi-column tablet with four columns per side. SEpM 14 is the last composition after a series of model contracts. For discussion of this grouping see Chapter 3.1.4.

X18 (VAT 9157; VAS 17 44): [...], X1, X2, X3, ANL 9, X4, SEpM 9, [...]

Bottom piece of a multi-column tablet with at least two columns per side. The right edge is preserved. The tablet must have been quite large to fit 23 lines of ANL 9, a second composition, and at least the first line of SEpM 9 in the first column of the reverse.²⁰

obv.

col. i': [...], X1 (final line), X2 (16 lines preserved)

col. ii': [X2?], X3, ANL 9:1–3

rev.

col. iii': ANL 9 4–27, X4 ll. 1–4 (rest lost), [SEpM 9:1–16]

col. iv': SEpM 9:17–28, [29–33], [...]

Single-Column tablets containing multiple compositions (Type III-m)

* = catchline only

N2 (3N-T80 = A30135; Ali 1964, pl. xxxi)	1a, 2, 3*
N53 (CBS 13968; Ali 1964, pl. xxxix)	12, 13, 14
X7 (BM 79102)	2, X, 4*
X11 (MS 2290)	20, 19

Dual-Composition tablets

N18 (3N-T668 = UM 55-21-372)	[X], 11 ²¹
N31 (3N-T918, 417 (+) 3N-T919; SLFN 25)	17, X
N82 (ISET 1 185)	[X, SEpM 20:1–4], 5–6
N94 (N 3754 + N 4229)	11, X

²⁰ According to Civil's catalogue, X3 and X4 may be letters. However, as there is no unambiguous evidence for this, they are not considered here. Note, that the second half of X3 is reduplicated on UM 29-16-10.

²¹ This type III tablet must have had at least one additional composition before SEpM 11. Although the tablet is relatively thick, the large block signs and wide lines suggests it was a Type III and not a Type I tablet, in which small cursive script and narrow lines are expected.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Catchlines on single composition tablets

N5 (3N-T292; Ali 1964, pl. xxxii)	20, 21*
N6 (3N-T293; Ali 1964, pl. lii)	12, 13*
N7 (3N-T310)	10, 11*
N9 (3N-T389; Ali 1964, pl. liii)	1, 2*
N32 (3N-T923, 495; SLFN 26)	11, 12*
N38 (CBS 7128)	19, 21*
N55 (CBS 13986)	21, 19*
N67 (Ni 2376; BE 31, 21)	7, 8*
N69 (Ni 2786; ISET 2 120)	1a, 2*
N71 (Ni 4508x)	X, 13*
N72 (Ni 4586)	1a, 2*
N74 (Ni 5218 (+) CBS 8739; ISET 1 124 (+) STVC 8)	16, 17*
N81 (Ni 9708 + Ni 1281; ISET 1 179 + ISET 2 116)	4, 6*
N88 (N 1513)	3, 4*
X13 (MS 3356)	11, X*

Table 2 demonstrates that SEpM was a relatively stable collection with a more or less standardized order, although there was certainly room for variation. This order is especially clear from the prisms (N40, N41, N77) and the three multi-column tablets that contain the first half of the collection (N35, N86, X8). Notably, the order differs somewhat from that of Ali's Collection B tablet (N76) as it adds two compositions. The inclusion of the Axe of Nergal and the Letter to the Generals within SEpM as SEpM 10 and 11 is based on N7 (SEpM 10, 11), N32 (SEpM 11, 12), N35 (SEpM 10, 14, 11), N41 (SEpM 9, 10), and N70 (SEpM 9, 10). Finally, the data demonstrate that two CKU letters alternate as the first letter in the collection, SEpM 1 (CKU 4) and SEpM 1a (CKU 7).

Table 2 further illustrates that the order of SEpM, as reconstructed here, is based on Nippur sources. Table 3 (below) shows that almost all the letters are attested elsewhere. However, there is not enough evidence from compilations with clear provenances outside Nippur to indicate whether the order of SEpM at cities such as Ur, Uruk, or Mari was consistent with that known from Nippur.²² In general, the

²² Among the unprovenanced manuscripts, X8 is ordered identical to the Nippur SEpM, but X15 and X18 are not.

compilations from Ur (Ur1, Ur5), for instance, seem to show a very different ordering.²³

Indeed, it is uncertain whether SEpM existed at all outside of Nippur. Less than half of the SEpM compositions are attested at Ur.²⁴ Moreover, several additional letters are only known from Ur manuscripts.²⁵ While letters were studied in these other cities, they may very well have had their own independent collections. Therefore, when referring to SEpM as a corpus we must keep in mind that we are dealing with compositions that formed a collection only at Nippur.

Table 3. Provenance of SEpM and ANL manuscripts²⁶

Letter	Nippur	Ur	Unknown	Other
SEpM 1	+	+	+	+ (Susa)
SEpM 1a	+			
SEpM 2	+		+	
SEpM 3	+	+	+	
SEpM 4	+	+	+	
SEpM 5	+		+	
SEpM 6	+	+	+	+ (Isin, Uruk)
SEpM 7	+	+	+	
SEpM 8	+	+	+	+ (Kish)
SEpM 9	+	+	+	
SEpM 10	+			
SEpM 11	+		+	+ (Mari)
SEpM 12	+		+	+ (Mari)
SEpM 13	+	+		
SEpM 14	+		+	+ (Mari)
SEpM 15	+			+ (Mari)
SEpM 16	+			
SEpM 17	+			+ (Mari)
SEpM 18	+	+	+	
SEpM 19	+	+	+	

²³ The only known catalogue of literary letters identified individually (CatUk1) also presents an otherwise unique order and includes compositions not known from the Nippur SEpM.

²⁴ Only SEpM 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 18, 19 are attested on Ur manuscripts. See discussion below.

²⁵ See Chapter 1 n. 41 for references.

²⁶ This chart marks only whether a letter is attested at a certain site. For the breakdown of the actual number of manuscripts see Chapter 4.2, Table 10.

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Letter	Nippur	Ur	Unknown	Other
SEpM 20	+		+	+ (Mari)
SEpM 21	+			
SEpM 22	+		+	
ANL 1	+			+ (Susa)
ANL 2	+*			
ANL 3	+*			
ANL 4	+*			
ANL 5	+*			
ANL 6	+		+	
ANL 7	+	+	+	
ANL 8	+*			
ANL 9	+		+	
ANL 10	+	+	+	
ANL 11	+*			
ANL 12	+*			
ANL 13	+		+	
ANL 14	+*			

* = one-off composition

The order of the Nippur SEpM is attested among tablets found across the site of Nippur, and so is not limited to only one particular school. The Nippur SEpM tablets come from two periods of excavation. Those from the original turn-of-the-century excavations of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania contain museum sigla UM, CBS or N (for those now housed at the University Museum in Philadelphia), Ni (for those now in the Istanbul Museum), or HS (for those in the Hilprecht Sammlung in Jena).²⁷ These tablets come from the area of Nippur known as Tablet Hill. Although their precise find spots are unknown,²⁸ the descriptions of the excavators suggest that they originated from a handful of houses similar to House F.²⁹

²⁷ Gibson et al. 1998–2001, 549.

²⁸ Gibson et al. 1998–2001, 546f., 549.

²⁹ Michalowski 2011.

House F was excavated by the joint University of Chicago and University of Pennsylvania expedition during the 3rd Post WWII season at Nippur. The tablets from this house bear the siglum 3N-T and are now in the University Museum in Philadelphia. That House F contained a school is evidenced not only by the sheer volume of scribal exercise tablets found in the house, but also by household installations such as boxes used as clay bins for recycling tablets.³⁰

Along with House F, several other houses on Tablet Hill were excavated in the later expeditions. These include House I and House G, both of which contained pieces from SEpM.³¹ Table 4 lists the SEpM tablets with known find spots in Nippur.³²

Table 4. Find spots of Nippur SEpM manuscripts from the 3rd campaign

N1	(3N-T8)	SEpM 1	?
N2	(3N-T80)	SEpM 1a, 2, 3*	TA 178 level XA-2 (House I)
N3	(3N-T109 = A 30146)	SEpM 9	TA 144 level XA-2 (House I)
N4	(3N-T255)	SEpM 13	TA 205 level XI-1 (House F)
N5	(3N-T292)	SEpM 20, 21*	TA 205 level XI-2 (House F)
N6	(3N-T293)	SEpM 12, 13*	TA 205 level XI-2 (House F)
N7	(3N-T310)	SEpM 10, 11*	TA 205 level XI-2 (House F)
N8	(3N-T369)	SEpM 19	TA 205 level XI-2 (House F)
N9	(3N-T389)	SEpM 1, 2*	TA 205 level XI-2 (House F)
N10	(3N-T436)	SEpM 10	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N11	(3N-T479)	SEpM 15	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N12	(3N-T480)	SEpM 8	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N13	(3N-T516)	SEpM 2, 3, 7	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N14	(3N-T521)	SEpM 7	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N15	(3N-T522)	SEpM 17	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N16	(3N-T530)	SEpM 18	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N17	(3N-T542)	SEpM 19	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N18	(3N-T668)	SEpM 11	TA 191 level XI-1 (House F)
N19	(3N-T790)	SEpM 15	TA 181 level XI-1 (House G/H)
N20	(3N-T827)	SEpM 8	?
N21	(3N-T901, 37)	SEpM 9	TA 205 level XI-2 (House F)
N22	(3N-T902, 67)	SEpM 21	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N23	(3N-T904, 155)	SEpM 7	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N24	(3N-T904, 169)	SEpM 22	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N25	(3N-T905, 213 ?)	SEpM 19	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)

³⁰ Robson 2001, 44.

³¹ For House I see Stone 1987, 65; House G see Ibid., 70.

³² Stone 1987, 161–212.

Table 4 (*cont.*)

N26	(3N-T907, 263)	SEpM 8	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N27	(3N-T907, 266)	SEpM 18	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N28	(3N-T916, 339)	SEpM 10	TA 191 level XI-1 (House F)
N29	(3N-T917, 362)	SEpM 22	TA 191 level XI-1 (House F)
N30	(3N-T918, 410)	SEpM 3	TA 191 level XI-2 (House F)
N31	(3N-T918, 417 (+) 3N-T919)	SEpM 17	TA 191 level XI-2 (House F)
N32	(3N-T923, 495)	SEpM 11, 12*	TA 184 level XI-3 (House F)
N33	(3N-T923, 502)	SEpM 6	TA 184 level XI-3 (House F)
N103	(3N-T454)	ANL 7	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N104	(3N-T901, 48)	ANL 7	TA 205 level XI-2 (House F)
N105	(3N-T904, 175)	ANL 10	TA 205 level XI-3 (House F)
N106	(3N-T919, 455)	ANL 7	TA 191 level XI-2 (House F)

Although most of the Nippur SEpM manuscripts are without precise locus, roughly a third are from House F (33 manuscripts of 102 from Nippur). Moreover, the evidence for the order of SEpM at House F is consistent with that from elsewhere in the city. While there are few compilation tablets in the group found in House F, all of the preserved catchlines reflect the same order of SEpM as attested elsewhere.³³

As noted above there is not enough evidence to justify considering SEpM a collection used at Ur. The presence of SEpM compositions in the Ur curriculum, however, is clear.

The compositions attested at Ur are either royal letters (SEpM 1, 3, 4), letters of petition (SEpM 6, 7, 8, 18) and prayer (SEpM 19), or SEpM 9 (the Tumul text), which like the first 8 letters—almost all of which are attested at Ur—emphasizes Isin's legitimacy as the successor to Ur. The only anomaly is SEpM 13, which may have been considered a royal letter since it is addressed to a king. Missing at Ur are all those letters that are particularly Nippur centric or related to the scribal school.

³³ Robson 2001, 57 noted already that SEpM had a strong presence within House F. The only compositions that are missing from House F are SEpM 3–5 and SEpM 14 (Robson 2001, 58). Also in House F are two ANL letters (7 and 10).

Table 5. Known find spots of Ur manuscripts³⁴

Ur1	(UET 6/2 173)	SEpM 1, 4, 8, 19	No. 7 Quiet St.
Ur2	(UET 6/2 175)	SEpM 18	No. 1 Broad St. ³⁵
Ur3	(UET 5 862)	SEpM 13	(?)
Ur4	(UET 6/2 177)	SEpM 6	(?)
Ur5	(UET 6/2 174 + UET 6/3 537)	SEpM 7, 19	No. 1 Broad St.
Ur6	(UET 6/2 178)	SEpM 1	No. 1 Broad St.
Ur7	(UET 8 60)	SEpM 9	No. 1 Broad St. ³⁶
Ur8	(UET 6/2 176)	SEpM 18	No. 1 Broad St.
Ur9	(UET 6/2 179)	SEpM 1	No. 1 Broad St.
Ur10	(UET 6 180)	SEpM 19	No. 1 Broad St.
Ur11	(UET 8 61)	SEpM 3	No. 1 Broad St. (?) ³⁷
Ur12	(UET 8 58)	SEpM 9	No. 1 Broad St. (?)
Ur13	(UET 8 59)	SEpM 9	No. 1 Broad St. (?)
Ur14	(UET 6/3 560)	SEpM 6	(?)
Ur15	(UET 6/3 564)	SEpM 4	(?)

In general, the versions of the SEpM letters at Ur deviate very little from their Nippur counterparts. Only one Ur manuscript of SEpM 13 seems to have a different understanding of the text than the Nippur manuscripts (see comm. SEpM 13). While minor textual variants are present, nowhere are they so explicit as to suggest a different recension.

In sum, the evidence from the compilation and dual-composition tablets and catchlines coming from tablets found in schoolhouses throughout Nippur demonstrates that at Nippur SEpM was considered a collection already in antiquity. This conclusion is supported by the thematic and typological similarities between the texts themselves. There is also evidence for the presence of SEpM compositions at other sites as well, although more data are required to determine whether SEpM as a whole had any presence outside Nippur.

³⁴ All Ur literary tablets were found during Sir Leonard Wooley's excavations (1922–34) and are now housed in the British Museum in London and the Iraq Museum in Baghdad. Most of the texts come from No. 1 Broad St and Nos. 5 & 7 Quiet street (Charpin 1986, 27–93; 419–43; Brusasco 1999–2000).

³⁵ Michalowski 2010, 196.

³⁶ See UET 8, p. 11.

³⁷ See UET 8, p. 11.

2.1.2 *Thematic associations between SEpM compositions*

As already noted, SEpM consists of two groups of compositions based on the identity of the sender and recipient. The first five letters are royal correspondences, containing one letter to Šulgi (SEpM 1 or SEpM 1a) and four to and from named kings of Isin (SEpM 2–4). SEpM 6–22 deal primarily with Nippureans and related texts, beginning—as a kind of transition from the royal epistles—with letters of petition to an unnamed king (SEpM 6–8) and a record of kings who contributed to a shrine near Nippur (SEpM 9). Following is a votive inscription (SEpM 10), official letters treating agricultural matters (SEpM 11–13), the announcement of a lost seal (SEpM 14), personal letters from people away from home (SEpM 15–17), letter petitions (18–19), a second votive inscription (SEpM 20), and letters from scribes (SEpM 21–22). The transition and clustering of related groups of compositions appears to have been very deliberate.³⁸

Moreover, although SEpM 6–22 treat varied subjects, they contain a number of unifying features. Primarily, the bulk makes their Nippur locale explicit. For instance, SEpM 7–8, 10, 14 and 18–21 all include characters said to be from Nippur.³⁹ SEpM 19 and 20 also feature Nippur deities. SEpM 9 contains reference to a number of Nippur cult places, most notably Tumul.⁴⁰ SEpM 11 also mentions Tumul. SEpM 13 features a field known from the Nippur region that is qualified as a field belonging to Nippur deities.

When a letter is not explicitly located in Nippur, it is either closely associated with others that are set in Nippur (SEpM 6, 12) or could only have been composed within the scribal school there (SEpM 22).⁴¹ SEpM 6, for example, is a letter prayer from a citizen of Ur. SEpM 7 and 8 are also letter prayers, but from citizens of Nippur. These are the only letters in SEpM (and ANL) that identify the sender by citizenship and not patronymic. I believe this was deliberate and that the characters were intended as paradigmatic features, used to illustrate

³⁸ See also Brisch 2007, 33 where she showed that “[a]ccording to their native designations, the Mesopotamians did distinguish royal letters from others, but they apparently did not have a separate designation for letters of petition.”

³⁹ Kleinerman 2008.

⁴⁰ Michalowski 2006, 155ff.

⁴¹ Note also “the context of [SEpM 9] is not history and royal legitimation, but the hermetic world of the Old Babylonian schools” (Michalowski 2006, 163).

the universal nature of suffering.⁴² Moreover, they show that citizens of both cities had equal right to petition the king, presumably of Isin. As such, although SEpM 6 does not take place in Nippur, it was included in conjunction with SEpM 7 and 8, certainly because Ur was known, alongside Nippur, as a center of scribal learning.

Similarly, SEpM 12 forms a set with SEpM 11 and 13, both of which feature Nippur realia. In particular, SEpM 12 is addressed to a governor and temple administrator while SEpM 13 is sent from these same officials. Moreover, the name of the sender of SEpM 12, Ur-Enlila, may hint at his Nippur affiliation, although the name is popular in southern Babylonia in general. Finally, although the setting of SEpM 22 is not explicit, given that it takes place at school, a Nippur provenance is only logical.

The inclusion of only three letters in the corpus is more ambiguous. SEpM 15, 16 and 17 are about people away from home. However, at least two were almost certainly composed within the schools and may reflect scribal humor. SEpM 15, perhaps intended to take place in the Sargonic period, may have been a joke at Sargon's expense.⁴³ The joke in SEpM 16—a letter addressed from a monkey, or someone named Mr. Monkey—I believe was poking fun at popular music.⁴⁴ Only SEpM 17 does not take place in Nippur nor does it have any other elements to give it away as fiction. However, SEpM 17 relates thematically to SEpM 15 and 16 and so to SEpM at large.

Thus, SEpM 6–22 are all set in Nippur, associated in some way with the city, or could only have been composed within the scribal school itself. These features serve to define SEpM in contrast to the other collections of literary letters (i.e. CKU, CKL),⁴⁵ but the careful transition from SEpM 1–5, the royal correspondence, to the main collection as noted above shows that at least in the Nippur schools, SEpM 1–5 and 6–22 were not intended as separate corpora.

Below I investigate each of the composition types represented in SEpM, examining various features and addressing relevant concerns. In so doing, I hope to shed light on why these compositions were

⁴² Kleinerman 2008, 178f.

⁴³ See already Michalowski 1976, 17.

⁴⁴ See edition SEpM 16.

⁴⁵ These same features also connect SEpM to the ANL, as many ANL epistles are set in Nippur and are clear products of the scribal schools. See below sec. 2.2.3.

included as a set in the Nippur scribal curriculum, a question to which I will turn at the conclusion of this chapter.

2.2 *The Nature of SEpM Composition Groups*

2.2.1 *The royal correspondence (SEpM 1–5)*

It is now well established that the CKU, CKI and CKL epistles to and from named kings of the Ur III dynasty and its successor states based at Isin and Larsa, respectively, are not reliable copies of genuine letters.⁴⁶ Instead, the letters were OB scribal creations, at least in the form in which they are preserved.⁴⁷

The first letter, SEpM 1 (CKU 4) is a letter of petition. Using a series of metaphors and other descriptive language, the sender, Abbaindasa, recounts his loss of status and ends with a plea for his restoration. The primary purpose of the inclusion of SEpM 1 within in SEpM was to establish the connection between Ur and Isin. Abbaindasa's letter is really a petition for royal mercy in the same way that SEpM 6–8 are petitions to the king of Isin. Indeed, as the only CKU letter prayer, this composition seems much more at home within SEpM than CKU, and may have been composed originally for SEpM. In some versions of SEpM, this letter is replaced by SEpM 1a (CKU 7), a part of the Šulgi-Aradmu correspondence. Aradmu's letter is more similar in style to the SEpM 2–5 and may have been attracted for this reason.

The CKI letters contain two sets of correspondences between kings of Isin and their military commanders. The first (SEpM 2 and 3) presents a successful military campaign and, in turn, a successful relationship between ruler and ruled. In contrast, the second (SEpM 4 and 5) demonstrates one that has failed. To determine the purpose of

⁴⁶ Huber 2001; Brisch 2007; Michalowski 2011.

⁴⁷ Several features point to the scribal origins of CKI. For instance, in SEpM 4, the name of the enemy leader Atta-mannum, literally “who are you?” seems to be a scribal joke at this character's expense indicating that the letter was not genuine. Moreover, certain lexical choices in SEpM 5 (ll. 7, 10, 12, 13) may suggest composition with specific pedagogical purposes in mind (see comm. SEpM 5:13).

this dichotomy it is necessary to briefly examine the historical background of the Isin kings, Iddin-Dagan (1976–1956) and Lipit-Ištar (1936–1926).⁴⁸

Although little is known of the reign of Iddin-Dagan, it is generally accepted that, at some point during his tenure, he lost control of Nippur.⁴⁹ This is based primarily on the claims of Iddin-Dagan's successor, Išme-Dagan, to have restored that city.⁵⁰ In the literature of Išme-Dagan, then, there is a contrast between Išme-Dagan, the king par-excellence, and Iddin-Dagan, the failure.⁵¹ Yet, in SEpM the comparison is between Iddin-Dagan, whose army captures that of the enemy (SEpM 2 and 3), and Lipit-Ištar, who can only temporarily halt the enemy's advance (SEpM 4 and 5). The pedagogical or ideological purpose for this choice then seems unclear.

However, the events of SEpM 4 and 5 may reflect those known from historical inscriptions to have occurred under the reign of Ur-Ninurta, Lipit-Ištar's successor.⁵² Indeed, in reality Lipit-Ištar was able to hold back the advances of Larsa while Ur-Ninurta was not.⁵³ Perhaps, then, the letters were composed during the latter part of Ur-Ninurta's reign, at which point the compiler may have wanted to credit Ur-Ninurta's predecessor with his own failures.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Charpin 2004, 385f.

⁴⁹ Tinney 1996, 3; Charpin 2004, 62.

⁵⁰ Tinney 1996, 83.

⁵¹ Tinney 1996, 84f.

⁵² Rowton 1967, 273 n. 29; Frayne 1992, 120 n. 259.

⁵³ The on-going hostilities between Isin and Larsa intensified under Gungunum of Larsa, the enemy king mentioned in the SEpM and a contemporary of Lipit-Ištar and his successor Ur-Ninurta. The first campaign of Gungunum, however, seems to have been deflected by Lipit-Ištar with major successes coming only after the Isin king's death (Charpin 2004, 71). Moreover, it is possible that these letters reflect events for which Gungunum's 22nd regnal year was named. This year describes construction work at the site of Dunnum and the dredging of a canal, events referred to in SEpM 4 (ll. 10, 17). Frayne noted already "that the antagonist of Gungunum should have been Ur-Ninurta of Isin, not Lipit-Ištar. The literary tradition may, thus be in error, but, then, this kind of error in the tradition is not unique" (Frayne 1992, 120 n. 259). This possibility was suggested first by Rowton 1967, 273 n. 29).

⁵⁴ One other possibility worth considering is that the contrast was intended not between the kings themselves but between the behavior of the commanding officers. As Michałowski (1980–83, 58) demonstrated, one of the primary motifs used in the royal letters is that of tension between the military bureaucracy and the king.

2.2.2 *The Nippur correspondence and related compositions (SEpM 6–22)*

2.2.2.1 *Daily-life letters*

By daily-life letters I refer to those epistles treating affairs and events that could occur from day to day, namely SEpM 11–13, 15–17 and 21–22. These letters include those dealing with agricultural problems (SEpM 11–13), those treating the affairs of people who are away from home (SEpM 15–17), and scribes (SEpM 21–22).

2.2.2.1.1 Agricultural letters (SEpM 11–13)

SEpM 11, 12 and 13 treat matters dealing with agriculture, and specifically contain statements regarding insufficient manpower. In SEpM 11, the sender gives a report of a flood that is devastating fields around Nippur and requests reinforcements. In SEpM 12, the sender relates a water dispute to the highest authorities, a governor and temple administrator. SEpM 13 appears to be a logical extension of SEpM 12, as the senders of this letter are (presumably) the same governor and temple administrator. Moreover, both SEpM 12 and 13 contain reference to a legal dispute.

In SEpM 11 the sender complains that he does not have an adequate labor force to stop the flooding of the Euphrates. Although he never directly asks for reinforcements, perhaps so as not to make demands of his superiors, the request is clear from his repetitive complaints.

In contrast, the purpose of SEpM 12 is explicit. Here, the sender, Ur-Enlila, reports a civil dispute: Lugalane has accused Enlilaĝu and Hanzamu of intentionally damaging an irrigation channel in order to divert the water into their own field (ll. 4–5). While Lugalane argues everyone should be content with the water entitled to him (l. 7), Enlilaĝu and Hanzamu chose to disregard him (l. 8). They argue instead that Lugalane had insufficient workmen to maintain his channel (l. 9), and so they did not deliberately breach it but are only reaping the benefits of Lugalane's negligence. Ur-Enlila cleverly uses the dispute in order to make a case for his request, more workmen (l. 11).

SEpM 13 appears to be the extension up the chain of command of SEpM 12, in which the addressees of that letter—a governor and a temple administrator—address an agricultural dispute to their king. The source of the dispute (ll. 3–7) remains unclear. At stake is either the size of the plots in which the land was divided or the allocation of said plots. This is followed by a request (ll. 8–10) for instructions from

the king, presumably regarding the settlement of the dispute. The letter closes with further narrative (ll. 11–15) introducing an additional complaint, that of insufficient manpower. The relationship between the claims raised by Iqbi-sum and Abi-qati (l. 7) to the complaint at the end of the letter is unclear.

By placing the request in the middle of the letter, the Nippur version of SEpM 13 deviates from the order in which both SEpM 11 and 12 are structured. The Ur version of the letter (Ur3), however, interprets the text somewhat differently, restoring the expected order and integrating the two disparate sections—the legal dispute and the complaint—of the Nippur version. Ll. 1–4 of the Ur text set up the background by introducing the fields about which the complaint concerns. The complaint itself follows in ll. 5–9. Here it is clear that the plaintiffs raised a claim, not over the division of the land, but over the lack of men available to work it. As such the final request for an order from the king in ll. 10–15 is explicitly in regard to the insufficient labor.

2.2.2.1.2 Letters about people away from home (SEpM 15–17)

SEpM 15–17 reflect the affairs of people away from home, including soldiers, musicians, and merchants. In SEpM 15, the sender, a soldier, requests a number of supplies from his brothers, presumably for their mother, whom he has been unable to support while away campaigning. The sender of SEpM 16, a musician, requests that his mother send someone to bring him home. Finally, in SEpM 17 the addressee, a merchant, is sent on a journey to acquire tin. Unlike the other previous two letters, this one is instructive, giving a series of commands and detailing how they are to be carried out.

In the first two letters the sender appeals to the recipients sense of familial responsibility. In SEpM 15, the sender, Ilaba-tah-lugalga explains to his brothers the reason for his long absence—continued service to the king—and subsequently requests a number of provisions. Emphasis is placed on the length of the campaign (ll. 3 and 11) as an excuse for filial neglect and justification for the speedy return of the request.

In SEpM 16, the sender informs his mother of his deplorable living conditions. While the grammar and lexicon of this brief missive are relatively straightforward, the underlying context is more problematic. Indeed, in previous editions, the key to interpretation has been the

nature of the sender as a man, with the name “Mr. Monkey,”⁵⁵ or an actual animal.⁵⁶ The parallel with SP 3.150 (cited below), in which a monkey is clearly the protagonist, strongly suggests the sender of SEP M 16 likewise was envisioned as an animal.

Regardless, it seems almost certain that the sender was intended as a caricature. The use of the monkey as a pejorative figure, contrasted with humans, is well attested in Sumerian literature,⁵⁷ and is employed as such to satirize political, pseudo-historical,⁵⁸ and scribal characters.⁵⁹ In this letter, I argue that the subject of ridicule is likewise the monkey and the group of performers that he represents.

As Gadotti demonstrated, OB scribes were not disdainful of the musician (nar). In fact, Gadotti argues for a strong association between the nar and the royal court—of which the scribe (dub-sar) was also a part—in OB Sumerian literature.⁶⁰ As such, the key to the object of ridicule in this letter is found in l. 6. The sender of the letter does not dwell with the nar, but is relegated to sitting behind the door of his house. The dichotomy is clear: the monkey is associated with the nar but he is not one of them.⁶¹

Instead, Volk⁶² points to the specific iconographic role of the monkey, always occurring with a particular type of musician who uses different instruments than those with which the nar is attested.⁶³ If the nar is the court musician, it is tempting to speculate that the monkey represents a counter, “popular” musical culture. The composer of this

⁵⁵ Cohen 1976, 271 argued that Mr. Ugubi was a man on guard duty reporting home that “he is in good health and in good spirits.” In support of this argument note the *Personenkeil* before “monkey” in two manuscripts (N66, N76).

⁵⁶ Powell 1978, 173 saw the humor of the letter as depending “upon assuming that the sender is a monkey and that the letter itself parodies the pattern of a formal business letter.” See also Barnett 1973, 3 who argued the letter represented a bit of “fun” in which a monkey complains to his mother “like any schoolboy at a boarding school, of the miserable food which is given at Ur.”

⁵⁷ Dunham 1985, 241f.

⁵⁸ CA 155–157 in reference to the Gutians; CKU 25 in reference to Išbi-Erra.

⁵⁹ Dialogue 1, 76; Dialogue 2 11, 101–102; Diatribe B, 5; Diatribe C 1–3.

⁶⁰ Gadotti 2009a.

⁶¹ For the connection between monkeys and music attested in the literary and art-historical traditions see the references collected by Dunham 1985, 245ff.; Spycket 1998.

⁶² Personal communication.

⁶³ Spycket 1998, 5.

missive, then, is not mocking the musical community at large, but one specific aspect of it, namely “pop culture.”⁶⁴

The sender is jealous of the court musicians around him who enjoy the delights of the great cities of Ur and Eridu, while he dwells in squalor. Moreover, the sender emphasizes that these conditions are true regardless of the city in which the monkey finds himself, as he references both the great capital city of Ur and Eridu, the city of Enki, patron of the arts. As such, this speaks to the universal nature of one aspect of the musical profession, or—more rightly—how the OB scribes chose to portray it.⁶⁵

SEpM 17, a series of instructions, is slightly different from the other two missives. First, the time frame of the journey is laid out (ll. 3–6). The request (ll. 4–5) is for the addressee to return from his journey on a specific day. Line 6 provides the argument; because all the preparations have already been made, the journey should easily take only the allotted time frame. A second request (ll. 13–14) details what the addressee should acquire. No argument is necessary as this is a direct order, formulated in the imperative. This is in contrast to the requests made throughout this letter, and the bulk of the SEpM as well, which are primarily precativa clauses.

In many respects, SEpM 17 is an elaboration of the standard Ur III letter order style. It begins without a greeting or blessing—in sharp contrast to Old Babylonian daily life letters or the letter-prayers attested in SEpM,—the message is an order limited to one subject, the delivery of the tin, and it ends with a formulaic exhortation.⁶⁶ Moreover,

⁶⁴ For a different interpretation see Michalowski 2009, 206–207 where he argues the letter reflects the snobbish attitude of the OB scribes to the musical profession.

⁶⁵ The oft-cited parallel to this letter SP 3.150 has been used to suggest that the monkey is not an outsider jealous of the musician’s lifestyle but instead an insider suffering because he is in fact a part of that community. I argue that the monkey is jealous not of the citizens of Eridu but of the *nar*, to whose community he longs to belong:

eridu^{ki} hé-ġál-la dù-a-ba
^ugu₄-bi é-nar-ra-ka igi-lá-bi al-tuš

“In Eridu, built in abundance, the monkey sits with longing in the house of the singer.”

This interpretation is made explicit in SEpM 16 in which the monkey sits behind the house. I cannot explain why the proverb differs in this regard.

⁶⁶ On the structure of Ur III letter orders see Sollberger 1966, 2–4. Unlike letter orders, however, this letter consistently uses the 1st and 2nd person dative verbal infixes and 2nd person suffix pronouns (Sollberger 1966, 3).

while this letter does contain considerable detail as compared to the typical Ur III letter order, it also lacks the personal touches and rhetorical style characteristic of the Old Babylonian Akkadian letters.⁶⁷

2.2.2.1.3 Letters about scribes (SEpM 21–22)

SEpM 22 directly treats the affairs of scribes. The sender provides instructions regarding proper teaching methods in terms of curriculum (ll. 3–4) and discipline (ll. 5–12). The letter contains a number of orders but there is no request and so no need for an argument.

SEpM 21 is more obscure. The letter is included for discussion here because the sender is the same as the sender of SEpM 22. The blessing in ll. 4–9, which refer to the addressee's predecessors as “scholars who came before you,”⁶⁸ indicates that the addressee is also a scribe. Indeed, this letter is unique in that it is the only SEpM daily life letter beginning with a blessing (ll. 4–9).⁶⁹

The argument and main intent of the letter remain obscure. Line 3, an apparent plot point placed before the blessing, is unexpected but clearly of importance to the sender. Two separate topics are then treated in the body of the letter: the city's reticence to fulfill a request and a delivery of money and clothing, which were probably part of the inheritance share in l. 14.

2.2.2.2 *Letters of petition and prayer (SEpM 6–8, 18–19)*

Letter in form, but prayer in function, Hallo originally coined the term letter prayer to classify such documents.⁷⁰ In general, letter prayers are distinguished from other Sumerian letters in that they elaborate the greeting with numerous epithets. They are further distinguished by their frequent use of poetic language, especially as compared to the daily-life letters.⁷¹ Letters of petition are identical to letter prayers except that they are addressed to kings or other mortals rather than to a deity.

Notably, literary letters and letters of petition or prayer were integrated in the OB catalogues and so not necessarily thought of as separate

⁶⁷ For which see Sallaberger 1999b.

⁶⁸ l. 6: um-mi-a ŠU.IGI.DU-zu-ne.

⁶⁹ ANL 2 is another example.

⁷⁰ Hallo 1968, 76.

⁷¹ Michalowski 1976, 12ff.; 2011. See further Chapter 4.3.

types in antiquity. However, Michalowski still considers them as a distinct category, marked by their use of poetry. He argues that “[a]lthough literary letters are certainly characterized by the use of poetic language, they were essentially prose texts, while letter-prayers used all the devices of Sumerian ‘verse,’ including construction by means of written lines, figurative and marked literary language, as well as assonance and parallelism.”⁷²

Structurally, letter prayers and petitions contain an argument composed of a complaint, a petition and, sometimes, a concluding promise.⁷³ Complaints in SEpM focus on unjust loss of status, the most notable consequence of which is loneliness. The petition, then, is most often for justice and a return to one’s original status (SEpM 6–8, 18). Loss of status may also be due to illness in which case the request is for a return to health (SEpM 19).⁷⁴ The only concluding promise in SEpM is one of devotion (SEpM 19).

In an effort to trace the origin of the Biblical Psalms all the way back to Sumerian poetry, Hallo proposed that the archival letter developed into the letter prayer as an affordable alternative to a votive offering. Like their more costly counterparts, then, letters addressed to deities would have been deposited before the cult statue to serve in permanent supplication on behalf of the petitioner.⁷⁵

Hallo’s argument was largely adopted without comment.⁷⁶ Recently, however, Brisch questioned the underlying assumption of Hallo’s

⁷² Michalowski 2011. See further Chapter 4.3. Notably, the letters of petition in prayer in SEpM do not display repetition, the most diagnostic feature of Sumerian poetry.

⁷³ Böck 1996, 6; Brisch 2003, 84f.; Hallo 1968, 76f.; Michalowski 1976, 9; Pon-gratz-Leisten 1999, 213–217. The topics of the complaints and petitions draw from a standard repertoire. Complaints include illness, loss of friends and patrons, loneliness and depression, insomnia, and old age. Petitions request relief from these ailments often with more specifics than presented in the original complaint itself. The appeals are reinforced with the sufferer’s claims of past merit, especially as related to the cult of the deity to whom he supplicates, and ignorance of his sin (Böck 1996, 12f.; Hallo 1968, 79). The letter-prayers conclude with future promises of devotion if the request is granted (for examples see Böck 1996, 19f.).

⁷⁴ It is generally assumed that Inanaka suffers from a form of paralysis (van Dijk 1953, 16 n. 37; Römer 2003, 238). Given the epithet purposed for the goddess in ll. 9, 24, “healed of cripples,” this may well have been the case. Moreover, paralysis was an ailment typically associated with women (Stol 1993, 142f.).

⁷⁵ Hallo 1968, 75.

⁷⁶ Böck 1996; Römer 2003.

thesis, namely that it was more cost effective to compose a letter than to commission a votive offering.⁷⁷ Brisch argued “if the letter-prayers were a cheaper alternative to more prestigious votive gifts, it would be difficult to explain the existence of two letter-prayers written in the name of a king, namely the letters from Sin-iddinam to Ninisina and to Utu.” Instead, Brisch proposed that the CKL letter prayers were “fictitious works of literature” intended “to depict Sin-iddinam in a negative light.”⁷⁸

There is evidence, however, that Akkadian letter-prayers were deposited before votive statues.⁷⁹ This may mean that we simply lack evidence for Sumerian ones.⁸⁰ While Brisch is certainly correct about the expense, this does not necessarily invalidate the possibility that Sumerian letter prayers reflect a practice of depositing petitions.

Ultimately, Hallo’s thesis depends on an even more fundamental assumption, namely that the curricular epistles were copied from compositions that had a life outside of the schools.⁸¹ As there is no conclusive evidence at present for the existence of Sumerian letter prayers deposited in temples, it is more productive to investigate the letter prayers within the context in which they are preserved, i.e. the OB scribal curriculum, an investigation to which I will return at the conclusion of this chapter.

2.2.2.3 *Votive inscriptions*

There are two votive inscriptions included in SEpM, SEpM 10 and 20. In the first, Nippurtalû dedicates an axe to the god Nergal. In the

⁷⁷ Hallo 1968, 75.

⁷⁸ Brisch 2007, 33.

⁷⁹ Based on the use of the archival as opposed to the literary script for these epistles, as well as their occurrence in only single exemplars, Michalowski argues that “one can surmise that they are the actual tablets deposited before a statue rather than school copies” (1980–83, 58; 1993, 5). See also Ellis 1987.

⁸⁰ Apart from Jacobsen’s memory of a Sumerian letter-prayer found in situ in the Diyala (cf. Ellis 1987, 238 n. 22), there is no evidence that these Sumerian letters were ever actually deposited in temples (Römer 2003, 240; Brisch 2003, 125).

⁸¹ For an explicit statement of this assumption in regards to CKU see Hallo 1981, 20f. See Hallo 1981, 20f. where he explicitly states this assumption.

second, Lugal-nesaê dedicates a dog-shaped figurine to the goddess Nintinuga.

Dedicatory inscriptions of the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia are standardized, drawing on a limited vocabulary and structured according to a set formula, the order of which varies only according to the language of the inscription. Sumerian inscriptions begin with the divine name in the dative case, which can then be qualified by epithets. This is followed by the personal name of the dedicator, often with titles and filiation, and concludes with the verb *a mu-(na-)ru* (“he dedicated (for him)”). Akkadian inscriptions generally reverse the order of the personal name and the divine name, but otherwise offer only the same limited detail. Additional short requests for a third party can occur, but are made only in the vaguest terms, *nam-ti PN*, *nam-ti-la-ni-šè* (“(for) the life of PN,” “for the sake of his life”).⁸² While objects were dedicated either as a gift of thanks or to make a request, such purpose is rarely explicitly stated.⁸³

The following example is indicative of the majority of dedicatory inscriptions.⁸⁴

Braun-Holzinger 1991, G81 = AnNip. 4

- (1.) ^d/nin-tin\ -ug₅-ga
- (2.) nin-en-tu
- (3.) ga-ti-la-šè
- (4.) a mu-na-[ru]

¹For Nintinuga, ²Nin-entu ⁴dedicated (this bowl) ³for his well-being.⁸⁵

In particular, inscribed axes, like the one featured in SEpM 10, are rare. Of the objects listed in Braun-Holzinger (1991), only one is a stone axe (K107). Coming from Nippur in the Isin-Larsa period its short inscription serves as a good counterpart to SEpM 10:

⁸² Braun-Holzinger 1991, 15.

⁸³ Braun-Holzinger 1991, 1.

⁸⁴ Although dedications to Nintinuga are not common, the format of this inscription is standard. For other dedications to Nintinuga, attested only on a handful of Early Dynastic inscribed vessels from Nippur, see Braun-Holzinger 1991, 129 (G80–82), 138 (G138).

⁸⁵ Literally: “for my ‘I want to live!’”

níg-ú-[rum]
^dnin-[šubur?]

“Property of Nin-Šubur”

In contrast to such genuine dedications, both dedicatory inscriptions included in SEpM provide explicit details. SEpM 10 boasts of the fine materials with which the object was made;⁸⁶ SEpM 20 clarifies the reasons for the dedication.

However, neither text explicitly states that the objects were dedicated.⁸⁷ Instead, the closing prayer in both SEpM dedications makes a request for a commodity otherwise unparalleled elsewhere in the corpus of dedicatory inscriptions.⁸⁸ Moreover, as noted already by Behrens, the dedicatory inscriptions included in SEpM use Akkadian syntax even though they are written in Sumerian.⁸⁹ Based on this evidence, it seems unlikely that SEpM 10 and 20 were modeled on standard dedicatory inscriptions or that they were direct copies of inscriptions found on real objects.⁹⁰

If not intended to replicate standard inscriptions—and so to teach scribes how to write such texts—what was their pedagogical purpose? SEpM 10 and 20 fit well within the corpus. First, these dedicatory inscriptions are Nippur-centric. The name of the protagonist of SEpM 10 makes clear his ties to the city, and the goddess, to whom the offering in SEpM 20 is dedicated, is a Nippur deity.

Furthermore, both texts fit stylistically and thematically within SEpM. For instance, SEpM 20 has a number of features similar to SEpM 6 and 18, compositions that contain long sequences of epithets. Moreover, Lugal-nesaê, the protagonist of SEpM 20, is also the sender of SEpM 18 and the petitioner in SEpM 7.

⁸⁶ See also the discussion of the fictionality of SEpM 10 in Black et al. 2004, xxviiiif.

⁸⁷ a mu(-na)-ru or in-na-ba (Braun-Holzinger 1991, 15).

⁸⁸ The closest parallel comes from an Ur manuscript (UET 6/1 60 rev. 2–18) that adds an extra passage to the end of GEN in which Gilgamesh performs funerary rites for his parents, including the provision of clear water thus illustrating the importance of this offering (Gadotti, in preparation).

⁸⁹ Behrens 1988, 27.

⁹⁰ Of course, given the limited corpus of extant dedication inscriptions there may be additional formats not preserved that more closely parallel those given here.

SEpM 10, which relies on simple statements with no epithets or relative clauses, has much in common with the so-called “daily life” letters SEpM 15, 16 and 17. These compositions use basic sentence structure, but also make use of a number of different forms of finite verbs. Within their respective groups, then, SEpM 10 and 20 represent different ways to practice the same thing, namely basic Sumerian sentence structure and finite forms on the one hand (SEpM 10) and non-finite verbal forms and relative clauses on the other (SEpM 20).⁹¹

2.2.2.4 *Miscellany*

Two miscellaneous compositions are included in the SEpM, SEpM 9 and 14. SEpM 9, the Tumul text, was treated in detail by Michalowski and the reader is referred to his thorough discussion of the composition.⁹² The reason for its inclusion in the SEpM is discussed below in sec. 2.5. Here I focus instead on SEpM 14, the announcement of a lost seal.

Concern over lost seals is attested in Ur III administrative sources. For example, SAT 2, 1167 records the receipt of grain as a regular offering from the “new mill.” The text also tells us that the seal of Enmi’usa was lost (kišib₃ en-mí-ús-sa ú-gu ba-an-dé). Presumably, his seal was supposed to mark this tablet.

Likewise, other documents inform us that a lost seal (kišib₃ ú-gu ba-an-dé), when found, was to be destroyed (ba-pà / ù-ul-pà / al-pà zi-re-dam).⁹³ Moreover, one text records not only that a seal was lost, but also specifies the type of seal, here of chalcedony, kišib₃ ^{na4}i-làl,⁹⁴ and the date of the loss.⁹⁵

The protocol for when a seal was to be destroyed is attested in two OB legal practice texts, YOS 1 28 and FLP 1287. These one-off student exercises include selections of contractual clauses as well as

⁹¹ Of note, when SEpM 10 and 20 occur together—on compilation tablet N58 and in the catalogue CATUk1—SEpM 10 comes before SEpM 20. As such, it is possible to hypothesize that SEpM 10 was composed first and SEpM 20 represents an elaboration in a style more closely approximating the more challenging letter prayers. That this was the case is further seen by the features that both texts share, namely that both are netherworld oriented.

⁹² Michalowski 2006.

⁹³ AUCT 3, 488, OrSP 47–49, 411, TMH NF 1–2, 47.

⁹⁴ On the meaning of ^{na4}i-làl see comm. SEpM 10:6.

⁹⁵ BiMes 06, 55. See discussion in Hallo 1977, 55. For similar information given in an OB Akkadian document see Klengel 1968.

verbal paradigms and other legal formulae.⁹⁶ For instance, YOS 1 28 i 20–23 reads:

tukum-bi kišib₃ ú-gu ba-an-d[é] tùm'-tùm'-e-dè gaz-e-dè /x\ [(x)]

“If a seal has been lost, it must be returned and destroyed.”⁹⁷

Protocol for public announcement of a legal decision is given in regard to manumission. FLP 1287 ii 1–3 states:

til[la₂] iri^{ki}-na-/ka\ si gù ba-ni-in-ra

“In the street(s) of his city, he (= the herald) blew the horn.”⁹⁸

Previous editors have assumed the authenticity of SEpM 14, primarily because of the occurrence of Lugal-melam, governor of Nippur under Amar-Suena.⁹⁹ Although it is impossible to identify the rest of the individuals with known persons from Ur III Nippur, I have shown elsewhere that the names in SEpM corpus were chosen deliberately, and many may very well have had real life antecedents.¹⁰⁰ The names in this text are no exception. Ur-dun and Zuzu are attested elsewhere in the Sumerian literary tradition.¹⁰¹ Others may well have been based on other, now lost, literary or historical antecedents. Several of the other names, however, appear to be puns based on their professions (see sec. 2.4.2 below). As such, given the seemingly deliberate choice of witnesses, named after traditional characters or chosen as jokes, it is unlikely that this text was based on a particular incident. However, it certainly reflected an actual practice.

⁹⁶ Roth 1979, 256; Roth 1995, 42–54; Saporetti 1998, 135–137; Rothenbusch 2000, 102–3 (esp. n. 62), and 105; Molina 2000, 103–110. On the nature of YOS 1 28 see Roth 1979, 15; For FLP 1287 cf. *Ibid.*, 256f.

⁹⁷ Roth 1979, 54.

⁹⁸ Roth 1979, 33.

⁹⁹ E.g. Hallo 1977, 56; Steinkeller 1977, 48.

¹⁰⁰ Kleinerman 2008. See also sec. 2.5 below.

¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the historical model on who these characters were based, although Neumann has suggested an identification of Ur-dun with an Ur III merchant by this name (Neumann 1992, 86–88). Michalowski (personal communication) suggests that the Ur-dun letter CKU 12 is a later OB fabrication, which likely borrowed the protagonist's name from our text. Alternatively, both texts may have drawn from a third unknown source.

2.3 *Additional Nippur Letters (ANL)*

These letters include all those found at Nippur that are not a part of SEpM because they almost never occur on compilations with SEpM compositions. As they rarely occur on compilations at all, and indeed many seem to be one-off texts, this group is not a collection and the designation ANL is used only for ease of reference. The tablets are ordered alphabetically by sender.

The occasional occurrence of ANL compositions in SEpM compilations (N42, X18) as well as their use of similar themes suggest that ANL letters were in some way associated with SEpM. In particular, ANL shares several key features with SEpM. ANL compositions are primarily Nippur centric and many show evidence of having been first composed within the scribal school. Moreover, ANL letters fall into the same categories as those in SEpM. Several ANL compositions fit in the category of “daily life,” as they deal with the affairs of messengers (ANL 3) and temple officials (ANL 6), scribal education (ANL 4, 8, 9), or legal matters (ANL 10). ANL 1, 2, 5, 7, and 11 are letters of petition or prayer.

Moreover, a number of ANL letters are set in Nippur, or are products of the scribal academy. ANL 6, for example, takes place in the Ninurta temple at Nippur. ANL 9 emphasizes the primacy of the Nippur schools while ANL 10 refers to one of Nippur’s most famous gates.

Others, however, are less clear. In ANL 4, while the location to which the teacher is moving is explicit, his point of origin is not. Perhaps his city of origin is so obviously Nippur—given the attitude seen among these texts (e.g. ANL 9) that Nippur is the only place to get a proper education—that it would have been unnecessary to specify it.

In ANL 3 the sender chastises the recipient for not providing his messenger with instructions, a task he will now have to fulfill. There is no clue as to where the activities are taking place and the messengers themselves are “of the cedar mountain.” The personal names are, to my knowledge, entirely unknown in either Ur III or OB sources. The only connection this text has to Nippur is that the complete letter is only attested on a dual-composition Type III tablet with ANL 10, a text which certainly was set in Nippur.

2.4 *Characters*

One of the features shared by several SEpM and ANL compositions is the use of historical Nippureans as characters. Several names in SEpM are identified with persons known from Ur III archival texts found at Nippur: Lugal-melam, the governor of Nippur (SEpM 14), Enlil-amah, a member of the prominent Nippur Ur-Meme family (SEpM 19), his daughter Inanaka (SEpM 19),¹⁰² and his grandson Saĝ-Enlil (ANL 9). There is strong evidence that other names in SEpM and ANL also had historical referents (e.g. Enlil-massu, Lugal-nesaĝe, Nabi-Enlil).¹⁰³

While the remaining names in SEpM 6-22 and ANL cannot be matched with genuine individuals, the absence of any other obvious patterns for name choice in most instances—e.g. popularity of name, occurrence in personal name lists used for scribal training, or as containing an additional message or pun¹⁰⁴—suggests that the other characters were likewise modeled on real Ur III Nippur persons.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, given the strong focus on education within the letters it may very well have been the case that the schoolmasters used these letters as a way of immortalizing themselves.¹⁰⁶ The remainder of this section examines more closely several of the names used in SEpM and ANL and the potential logic behind why they were chosen.¹⁰⁷

2.4.1 *Ur-saga, Lugal-nesaĝe, Lugal-šu (SEpM 6–8; 18, 20)*

Thematically, SEpM 6–8 form a set. In all three petitions the senders are qualified not by patronymic, but rather as citizens of Ur or Nippur. This stands in marked contrast to the other letters of petition and

¹⁰² Inanaka is the only female protagonist in SEpM. There is only one other female author or recipient in the entire corpus of Sumerian literary letters. For Ninšatapada, daughter of Sin-Kašid of Uruk and author of a petition to Rim-Sin of Larsa, see Brisch 2007, 81ff.

¹⁰³ Kleinerman 2008, 175f.

¹⁰⁴ Three names may have been intended as puns: Mr Ugubi, the sender of SEpM 16, who may or may not have been a real monkey; Zuzu (SEpM 14, 18 and 22), a nickname for Enlil-alsag, the master scholar of Nippur in SEpM 18 and 21; and Nip-purtalu, the dedicator of the axe in SEpM 10.

¹⁰⁵ Kleinerman 2008, 177.

¹⁰⁶ See further Ch. 5.

¹⁰⁷ For a complete list of all the names included in SEpM and their attestations in archival sources see Kleinerman 2009, 181ff.

prayer in SEpM, which identify the petitioner by patronymic (SEpM 18:8f., SEpM 19:10). As such, emphasis seems to be not on a particular individual but on a paradigmatic figure, perhaps intended to emphasize the universal nature of misfortune.

The personal names chosen in these three letters further emphasize this point. Ur-saga is a particularly common name in the Ur III onomastica, so the use of that name in SEpM 6 serves as a generic “John Smith.” Moreover, in the two other letters, SEpM 7 and 8, the name of the petitioners varies among manuscripts between Lugal-nesaê in some exemplars and Lugal-šu in others, showing that the particular name of the author was not a strong feature of the textual tradition.

In SEpM 7 the name of the sender is preserved in five sources. One manuscript (N13) has Lugal-nesaê while four (N14, N68, N76, X8) have Lugal-šu. The situation is reversed in SEpM 8. Of the six manuscripts that preserve the name, four have Lugal-nesaê (N20, N34, N76, Ur1) while only two (N12, N85) have Lugal-šu. The only manuscript to preserve the name in both letters (N76) has Lugal-šu in SEpM 7 and Lugal-nesaê in SEpM 8, suggesting that—in at least one tradition—two different characters were intended.

Elsewhere, Lugal-nesaê is the sender of SEpM 18, where he is a nu-eš priest of Enlil and the son of Enlil-aslag, a Nippur scholar (ummiā). If the kinship terms in this text are intended literally, the letter is addressed to Lugal-nesaê’s own son, Enlil-massu. Alternatively, Lugal-nesaê may have also been a scholar and Enlil-massu may have been his pupil.

In SEpM 20, Lugal-nesaê is the dedicator of the text and the son of Zuzu. Given that one manuscript (Ur8) of SEpM 18 replaces the name Enlil-alsag with that of Zuzu, it is reasonable to imagine that Zuzu was a nickname of Enlil-alsag and the Lugal-nesaê of at least SEpM 18 and 20 was intended to be the same character.¹⁰⁸

In Ur III administrative documents, the name Lugal-nesaê is well attested. At Nippur, in particular, someone by that name served as a witness in a sale document concerning a member of the priestly office (nu-eš) to which the literary Lugal-nesaê is said to belong in SEpM 18 (NATN 903; see also MVN 5 88). The name Lugal-šu is unattested in Ur III administrative sources. He is attested among the list of former

¹⁰⁸ Hallo 1977, 57; Powell 1978, 194; Michalowski, personal communication.

umma in SEpM 21 suggesting that at least the literary Lugal-šu was a Nippur scholar.¹⁰⁹

I suggested above that the name of the Nippur petitioner is intended to be paradigmatic, hence the alteration. However, it is possible that the composer of these letters still chose a name familiar to him, or a teacher chose to immortalize himself. Perhaps a later redactor, aware that the citizenship of the character and not his identity itself was important, replaced the original name with one more familiar to him. Whether Lugal-nesaê, a priest known to us from Ur III administrative documents, or Lugal-šu, the headmaster known to us only from another literary letter, was the original name intended remains elusive. Alternatively, it may have been that each petition was intended to come from a different individual, as in N78.¹¹⁰

2.4.2 *Witnesses (SEpM 14)*

Much can be said about the names chosen for the witnesses in SEpM 14, the announcement of a lost seal. Although Lugal-melam, governor of Ur III Nippur, is included among this list, we have already seen that the remainder of the names cannot be identified with historical Nippureans (sec. 2.2.2.4 above). Here, however, I examine what we do know or can postulate regarding the other names chosen. Names are presented in order of appearance in the text.

Lu-Suena, the general:

The name Lu-Suena is common in Ur III archival sources at large and at Nippur. One manuscript, X24, has instead ^mlu-gi-na. This name also occurs in SEpM 21:13 although there is no reason to suggest that the two names deliberately referred to the same individual as X24 contains only SEpM 14. Moreover, although rare at Nippur, the name Lu-gina is even more common in Ur III administrative records in general than Lu-Suena.

¹⁰⁹ The name itself is unusual. lugal-šu is of course Akkadian *šar kiššati*, “king of the world,” and is translated as such in Lu I 46 (MSL 12 94). Note also the epithet of Nergal, lugal-u₄-šu, “lord of the sunset,” in TH 464.

¹¹⁰ In the corpus of Akkadian practice letters, the primary variant in exemplars of duplicate texts are the personal names (Michalowski 1983, 225f.). Michalowski suggests, “it may have been the case that a student was asked to copy, or take from dictation, a letter without specific names and to insert them, either ones that he knew from daily life, or from the lists of personal names which constituted part of the school curriculum” (Ibid., 226).

Sidu, the scribe:

Hallo¹¹¹ suggested that the name Sidu may be a reference to the author of an unidentified series mentioned in several first millennium catalogues.¹¹² However, the name is quite popular in 3rd millennium contexts attested already in the Fara and Abu Salabikh texts¹¹³ and over 140 times in Ur III administrative sources, including half a dozen or so from Ur III Nippur. Although it is tempting to connect this scribal name with the purported author, it is anything but certain given the enormous time gap.

Adlul, the steward:

Although the name ad-lul is unattested in the Ur III sources, names with the second element lul do occur, including a-lul, “the father is fierce” or “the father is a liar.”¹¹⁴ The name is more likely an Akkadian hypocristicon, *adlul*, “I praised.” Names of this root are common although the form would be unusual. The name al-LUL in N70 is attested several times in Ur III sources. If read al-lub, it would mean “crab.”

Bansagen, the lamentation performer:

The name ba-an-sa₆-ge-en, “he/she made me pretty” is unattested although the name ba-an-sa₆, “he/she made it nice,” does occur. ba-an-sa₆-ge-en, however, is a fitting name for a lamentation performer, a profession routinely depicted in Sumerian literature as vain.¹¹⁵

Ullia, the mayor:

The variant u₄-ul-a in X17 may have been motivated by the Sumerian phrase u₄-ul(-l₁-a), “in the past,” but the significance of the name for a mayor of the name is unclear.

2.4.3 *Scholars* (SEpM 18, 21–22; ANL 4, 9)

A number of SEpM and ANL characters were scholars (ummia). Although they cannot be identified with historical scribes or teachers, it is tempting to imagine that they do reflect such individuals. Names are presented in alphabetical order.

¹¹¹ Hallo 1977, 57.

¹¹² E.g. Lambert 1962, VI 13, comm. 72, 76.

¹¹³ Alberti and Pomponio, 1986 28f.

¹¹⁴ Limet 1968, 273; Lämmerhirt 2010, 263.

¹¹⁵ Note in particular SP 21 Sec. D. 3 and the discussion in Gadotti 2009a.

Enlil-alsag/Zuzu (SEpM 14, 18, 20, 21):

On Zuzu as a nickname for Enlil-alsag see sec. 2.4.1 above. Zuzu, “know-it-all,” is an appropriate name for an ummia.¹¹⁶ That Zuzu became a legendary persona is indicated by Silbenvokabular A l. 41 which explains the name zu-zu as um-mi-a.¹¹⁷

Enlil-massu (SEpM 18, 21):

That Enlil-massu was a scholar is made explicit by the list of his ancestors in SEpM 21:6 qualified as, “scholars who preceded you.” In SEpM 18, Enlil-massu is the son (or student?) of Lugal-nesaê. Although here Lugal-nesaê is qualified as a priest, his father Enlil-alsag, is identified as a scholar. Moreover, in the list of laudatory epithets ascribed to Enlil-massu at the beginning of the letter he is said to be the “epitome of the scribal art” (SEpM 18:5). The name itself is rare, attested less than half a dozen times in the Ur III Nippur administrative corpus.

Igmil-Sin (ANL 4):

There is a teacher, Igmil-Sin, attested in two OB Akkadian letters from Ur, but Charpin argued convincingly that that these were practice letters.¹¹⁸ Even if we were to argue that these exercises were based on a historical individual, given that ANL 4 is found only at Nippur and that the majority of characters in SEpM associated with historical personages are of Ur III date, strongly suggests that the Igmil-Sin of Ur and Igmil-Sin of Nippur are not to be identified. Furthermore, the name Igmil-Sin occurs in OB Nippur as well, although not in Ur III.¹¹⁹

Inim-Inana (SEpM 21, 22):

Inim-Inana is the sender of SEpM 21 and 22. That he was a scholar is made clear by SEpM 22, a missive treating matters relating directly to the smooth running of the classroom. The name Inim-Inana is fairly well attested in the Ur III onomastica, although not in Ur III Nippur.

Lugal-ibila (SEpM 22):

Lugal-ibila, the recipient of SEpM 22, is the author of two other literary letters, the unprovenanced letter to Girniisag (AUAM 73.3179) and the letter to Lugal-nesaê, a first millennium composition modeled

¹¹⁶ Hallo 1977, 57.

¹¹⁷ Sollberger 1965, 23.

¹¹⁸ Charpin 1986, 465.

¹¹⁹ Stone 1987, 247.

on SEpM 22.¹²⁰ The name Lugal-ibila is rare, attested fewer than ten times in the Ur III corpus, although approximately half of those come from Nippur sources.

Nabi-Enlil (SEpM 21, ANL 7, 8, 9):

In SEpM 21:5, the name na-^den-lil, one of the letter recipient's ancestral scholars is assumed to be a scribal error for na-bi-^den-lil,¹²¹ the sender of three other literary letters (ANL 7, 8, 9), one of which specifies him as the son of Saĝ-Enlil, the last attested member of the Ur III Nippur Ur-Meme family.¹²² While it is troublesome that both manuscripts of SEpM 21 (N55, N56) contain this error—as they vary considerably from each other elsewhere—this restoration is tempting.

Although there is no archival evidence for a Nabi-Enlil, son of Saĝ-Enlil, Hallo and Zettler suggested the literary Saĝ-Enlil is identical to the historical figure by that name.¹²³ The historical Saĝ-Enlil, grandson of Enlil-amah, is attested as the last Ur III administrator of the Inana temple.¹²⁴ The name, Nabi-Enlil, occurs fewer than a dozen times in the Ur III corpus. The rarity with which it appears, however, lends credence to the arguments of Hallo and Zettler that it was not chosen for use in SEpM at random. The lack of archival evidence for a Nabi-Enlil, son of Saĝ-Enlil, is probably because Saĝ-Enlil is thought to have survived the transfer of Nippur from Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the Ur III dynasty, to the control of Ishbi-Erra, the first king of the Isin Dynasty.¹²⁵ This would place a historical Nabi-Enlil in the early Isin period, one from which we have hardly any Nippur texts.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Civil 2000a, 109f.

¹²¹ Hallo 1977, 57.

¹²² Zettler 1984, 9.

¹²³ Hallo 1972, 93; Zettler 1984, 8–9.

¹²⁴ Zettler 1984, 8.

¹²⁵ Zettler 1984, 9.

¹²⁶ Nippur texts virtually cease in Ibbi-Sin 8 not to resume again until Išme-Dagan, approximately 60 years later (Zettler 1984, 9). A new Nabi-Enlil letter (ANL 7), attested in just one unprovenanced manuscript, is addressed to the later Isin king Iter-piša. I argue this does not invalidate the assumption that the Nabi-Enlil in SEpM is based on an Ur III figure. Rather, this one-off composition probably used a name known from the Nippur literary letters to create a new composition.

2.5 *Shared Linguistic Features*

2.5.1 *Greeting formula*

The introductory formula found in the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium Sumerian letters, PN₁(-ra) ù-na(-a)-dug₄ PN₂ na-ab-bé-a, has been the topic of much discussion.¹²⁷ Most recently, Jagersma¹²⁸ argues na-ab-bé-a “is a fusion of the pronoun a-na and a form of the verb e ‘say’,” rendering a literal translation, “what he says.”¹²⁹ The role of the ù- prefix is more problematic. Possible interpretations include a “Brie-
feinleitungsformel imperativisch”¹³⁰ or a “Prospektivpräformativ.”¹³¹ Civil suggests that the ù- is the “prefix of anteriority” used to indicate events in a sequence, an interpretation which well explains its presence in the opening formula of letters.¹³² Regardless, it is clear here that ù-na(-a)-dug₄ functions as an imperative, as shown by its Akkadian equivalent, *qibīma*, and the Akkadian equivalent ù- forms elsewhere.¹³³

In the greeting formula used in SEpM letters the verb is written ù-na-dug₄ and ù-na-a-dug₄. The additional -a- reflects the second person ergative.¹³⁴ Table 6 indicates the distribution of these variants within the corpus.

¹²⁷ See most recently Michalowski 2011.

¹²⁸ Jagersma 2010, 229f. following Poebel 1923, 205 and Attinger 1993, 264.

¹²⁹ For an alternate interpretation see Civil 2005, 37, where he argues that the na- prefix is the marker of reported speech.

¹³⁰ Kienast and Volk 1995, 4f.

¹³¹ Böck 1996, 7; See also Römer 2003, 245 for discussion of the possible interpretations.

¹³² Civil 2005, 39.

¹³³ Indeed, ù-na(-a)-dug₄ became the general word in Sumerian for a letter and was also borrowed into Akkadian as *unneḍukku*.

¹³⁴ Compare Dialogue 3: 140//177:

a-na-aš-àm ka tar-re-a-bi in-na-dug₄ // in-na-a-dug₄ // in-ne-dug₄ // in-ne-e-dug₄
“Why do you speak to him so boastfully?”

(Attinger, personal communication). See in general, Attinger 1993, 217–220; Jagersma 2010, 334–336.

Table 6. ù-na(-a)dug₄ variants

Letter (total sources for line, Nippur sources)	ù-na-dug ₄	ù-na-a-dug ₄	Plural ù-ne-dug ₄ , ù-ne-a-dug ₄	ambiguous
1 (9, 3)	(4, 2)	(2, 1)	Su1 (ù-ne-dug ₄)	(2, 0)
1a (3, 3)	(2, 2)	n/a	n/a	(1, 1)
2 (5, 4)	N9, N40, X17 (3, 2)	n/a	n/a	N2, N76 (2, 2)
3 (7, 5)	X6, X3 (2, 0)	N35 (1, 1)	n/a	N2, N30, N40, N76 (4, 4)
4 (7, 4)	N76, N81 (2, 2)	N86, Ur1, X8 (3, 1)	n/a	N86, X7 (2, 1)
5 (2, 1)	N40 (1, 1)	X3 (1, 0)	n/a	n/a
6 (10, 4)	N76, N81, X1, X9 (4, 2)	Ur4, Uk1, Uk2, X21 (4, 0)	n/a	N40, N93, Is1 (3, 2)
7 (7, 4)	N14, N68, N76, X1, X8 (5, 3)	n/a	n/a	N13, Ur5 (2, 1)
8 (9, 8)	N12, N20, N67, N76, N90 (5, 5)	N34, Ur1 (2, 1)	n/a	N40, N87 (2, 2)
11 (7, 7)	N58, N85, N96 (3, 3)	N7, N35 (2, 2)	n/a	N32 (1, 1)
12 (6, 5)	N32 (1, 1)	n/a	X16 (1, 0) (ù-ne-a-dug ₄)	
13 (5, 5)	N4, N53, N76 (3, 3)	N6 (1, 1)	n/a	N40 (1, 1)
15 (3, 3)	N11, N19 (2, 2)	n/a	n/a	N82 (1, 1)
16 (6, 6)	N61, N76 (2, 2)	N53, N65 (2, 2)	n/a	N74, N85 (2, 2)
17 (4, 4)	N76 (1, 1)	n/a	n/a	N15, N31, N76 (3, 3)
18 (10, 7)	N52 (1, 1)	N16, N66, N91, Ur8, X22 (5, 3)	Ur2 (1, 0) (ù-ne-dug ₄)	N27, N76, N77 (3, 3)
19 (11, 7)	N8, N39 (2, 2)	Ur10, X19 (2, 0)	n/a	N17, N55, N57, N62, N76, Ur5, X11 (7, 5)
21 (5, 5)	N39, N55 (2, 2)	N5, N56 (2, 2)	n/a	N22 (1, 1)
22 (4, 3)	N76 (1, 1)	X4 (1, 0)	n/a	N29, N64 (2, 2)

Although it is difficult to identify any clear patterns, it seems that the majority of Nippur sources use ù-na-dug₄. Of the Nippur manuscripts, 38 (73%) have ù-na-dug₄ while only 14 (27%) have ù-na-a-dug₄. This may reflect a Nippur style, especially given that all provenanced non-Nippur manuscripts use the long form.¹³⁵ However, orthographic choice here may reflect no more than the physical space available on the line. Moreover, upon examination of the ANL, the choice is more evenly split. Therefore, I have chose as my eclectic line for each letter the form with most attestations. In instances where the forms are evenly split, my eclectic line uses ù-na-dug₄, since at least for SEpM letters, this chain seems to dominate at Nippur.¹³⁶

The letter prayers add a second instruction to the basic introductory formula, ù-na-dè-tah. Here, there is a clear distinction between the form used at Nippur and that at Ur. With one exception¹³⁷ all the Nippur manuscripts contain the expected ù-na-dè-tah. All the Ur manuscripts, however, have the variant ù-ne-dè-tah.

2.5.2 *Exhortation*

The SEpM letters make use of three types of exhortations. These roughly fit the categories defined by Sollberger for the Ur III letter orders, including those stressing the need for an immediate response, those appealing to a high authority, and those appealing to the goodwill of the recipient.¹³⁸ The exhortations used in the SEpM are as follows:

1. Phrases stressing an immediate response: a-ma-ru-kam:

- SEpM 3
- SEpM 4
- SEpM 5
- SEpM 11
- SEpM 12
- SEpM 15
- SEpM 16

¹³⁵ The one exception to this is Ur6 (SEpM 1).

¹³⁶ Notably the overwhelming majority of Ur III letter orders use ù-na-a-dug₄. This may be another indication of the artificial nature of these compositions.

¹³⁷ N68 (SEpM 7).

¹³⁸ Sollberger 1966, 4.

- SEpM 17
- SEpM 21
- SEpM 22
- 2. Phrases appealing to a high authority: lugal-ĝu₁₀ hé-en-zu
 - SEpM 2
 - SEpM 6
 - SEpM 13
- 3. Phrases appealing to the goodwill of the recipient
 - SEpM 7
 - SEpM 8
 - SEpM 18
 - SEpM 19

The closing exhortation, a-ma-ru-kam, “it is urgent,” used to give the request additional weight, occurs in the Ur III Sumerian letter orders; its Akkadian equivalent, *apputtum*, occurs in the OB functional letters.¹³⁹ It is the most common exhortation used in SEpM.

The expression lugal-ĝu₁₀ hé-en-zu, “my king should know,” is used to appeal to a higher authority but is not attested in Sumerian letter orders. It is, however, the closing formula used in all CKU letters written to kings.¹⁴⁰ The Akkadian expression *an-ni-tam be-lí lu-u i-de* closes letters sent to Zimri-Lim.¹⁴¹ These letters sent to the king from his informants abroad are informative. In contrast, the SEpM epistles that close this way do request something of the king. This may have been a rhetorical tool used to make the request less forceful, as one certainly would not want to be accused of commanding a king.

Finally, almost all SEpM letters of petition and prayer make use of other exhortations that appeal to the goodwill of the (divine) addressee. None is the clichéd phrases used in the Ur III letter orders.¹⁴² The only letter of petition that does not close in this manner is SEpM 6, which ends instead with the appeal lugal-ĝu₁₀ hé-en-zu. The reason for this choice is unclear, but, as the first letter in SEpM after the Ur and Isin

¹³⁹ Sollberger 4; Sallaberger 1999b, 163.

¹⁴⁰ Letters from kings end a-ma-ru-kam (Michalowski 2011). Notably, SEpM 4, a letter to a king, breaks this pattern, ending in a-ma-ru-kam instead of the expected lugal-ĝu₁₀ hé-en-zu.

¹⁴¹ Examples are numerous but see for instance ARM 26 362, ARM 27 1, 27 59.

¹⁴² See the list in Sollberger 1966, 4.

royal letters, it may have served as a transition between those five and the three letter prayers that follow.

2.6 *Discussion*

The above discussion demonstrates that SEpM was considered a collection already in antiquity, with a relatively stable order. Although SEpM is a Nippur corpus, evidence from other sites indicates that SEpM compositions were used throughout southern Babylonia. At Nippur, the coherence of the corpus is evidenced by the occurrence of SEpM compositions in a relatively stable order on compilation tablets and in catchlines, as well as thematic similarities, most predominately a Nippur centrism. In particular, the use of historical Nippureans and the strong focus on education highlight this centrism.

Indeed, SEpM is a collection of letters using well known Nippur elite names that attract, on the one hand, the votives, and on the other, the first nine compositions that emphasize political order and the role of the king. The last two letters emphasize the importance of academy and Nippur's centrality thereto. By approaching the collection in this way, we also see that SEpM as a whole serves two purposes.

First, it emphasizes the legitimacy of the Isin kings by connecting them to both the Ur III state and to the city of Nippur, the center of Sumerian culture. Beginning the collection with a CKU letter followed by the CKI illustrates that Isin is the rightful successor to Ur. Likewise, SEpM 9, the Tumul Text, links Išbi-Erra of Isin to the kings of Ur. It also emphasizes the father-son succession, similar to the Isin version of SKL but unlike the Ur III version, which has only two instances of father-son succession.¹⁴³ Moreover, SEpM 9 establishes Isin as the legitimate ruler of Nippur. Similarly, ANL 9 stresses that Isin is a scribal center, on par with Nippur. Indeed, the inclusion together of SEpM 1–5, the royal correspondences, and SEpM 6–22, Nippur correspondences and related compositions, within the SEpM emphasizes the connection of Isin and Nippur. On a smaller scale this connection may also be seen in instances such as the occurrence of the healing goddess Nintinuga, the Nippur manifestation of the Isin goddess, Gula.

¹⁴³ Steinkeller 2003.

By understanding that the first purpose of SEpM was to enhance Isin royal legitimacy we see how the individual compositions came to be associated so that together they mutually reinforce this message and take on new meaning that they would not necessarily have alone. For instance, it is unlikely that SEpM 9 was written specifically for SEpM, but once inserted, it strengthens the Ur-Isin connection made by SEpM 1–5 and also gives depth to Nippur's primacy. SEpM 1, if it was added after the corpus was assembled, would have established the Ur-Isin connection, so that SEpM 2–5 are no longer just about the kings of Isin, but about the legitimate heirs to Šulgi.

Secondly, SEpM represents a part of Nippur's contribution to the Sumerian heritage. Veldhuis argued that the Sumerian literary compositions taught in the OB scribal schools represented an invented tradition, intended to stress the political and cultural unity of the Babylonian cities. In other words, compositions—the subject matter of which was explicitly tied to each of the southern Mesopotamian cities—formed a shared corpus that all students learned. For instance, *Nanše and the Birds* reflects the Lagaš tradition, while the heroic epics of Gilgameš reflect that of Uruk.¹⁴⁴ Likewise, I believe the Nippur centric SEpM compositions were chosen deliberately to reflect and preserve a part of the Nippur contribution to the Sumerian heritage, immortalizing Ur III Nippur elites as well as Nippur realia and culture.

This contribution may seem insignificant given the large presence of Enlil, Ninurta and Nippur elsewhere in Sumerian literary texts. Be that as it may, I believe the Ur III scribal masters referenced in the texts added their names deliberately to preserve their memory and emphasize their own contribution.¹⁴⁵

Of course, these lessons may have been lost on the children who copied the compositions. Similarly, the students, or even their teachers, may not have known that the names originally went back to Ur III times. However, this does not mean that the texts were not composed originally with such an agenda in mind. Indeed, the letters are contextually so insignificant on their own that the only reason they would have been included in the curriculum was if they had a purpose as a whole.

¹⁴⁴ Veldhuis 2004, 77ff. This, in turn, created a sense of unity among future bureaucrats of different origins (Veldhuis 2004, 79).

¹⁴⁵ See further Ch. 5.

Finally, identifying the presence of historical Nippur elites within SEpM leads to the question of authenticity. If the letters refer to real people, were they originally real letters? I find it very unlikely. There are no certain comparative genuine Sumerian letters and any Akkadian ones are different enough to suggest that SEpM epistles are not translations from genuine Akkadian letters nor do the votives seem to be translations of genuine Sumerian or Akkadian ones. Moreover, enough of the material within SEpM is so clearly fake—e.g. SEpM 16 (from a monkey!)—or was composed within a scribal milieu—e.g. SEpM 9—to indicate that the rest were fabricated as well.

Indeed, Veldhuis argued that the concept of fiction is not relevant to the OB literary corpus. Instead, the use of traditional characters, signaled by the use of personal names, demonstrates that the texts held a certain historical authenticity.¹⁴⁶ Yet, Veldhuis did not know what to make of the letters and suggested “[a] separate case is constituted by the collections of letters that entered the Old Babylonian curriculum.”¹⁴⁷ However, as I have shown above, the persons in SEpM were traditional characters. They reflected local Nippur elites and their presence within the OB literary corpus is yet another reflection of Nippur’s centrality to scribal education.

¹⁴⁶ Veldhuis 2004, 70, 74.

¹⁴⁷ Veldhuis 2004, 70.

CHAPTER THREE

COMPILATION

Sammeltafeln, or compilation tablets, are collections of two or more compositions preserved on the same tablet.¹ Although ubiquitous throughout the cuneiform record, compilation tablets are particularly well attested in the OB scribal schools.² In elementary education, multi-column tablets and prisms contained collections of proverbs and model contracts. In advanced education, compilations contained short compositions that lend themselves to compilation because of their length. Here, I focus on this latter group, examining in particular the use of compilation tablets within the OB scribal schools in the Advanced Phase of the Sumerian scribal curriculum.

In this context, a compilation can be better understood as a sequence of compositions, often drawn together from varied sources and not necessarily composed with one another in mind. Some such compilations are fixed and repeated, whereas others are idiosyncratic.

The compilation tablets created in the Advanced Phase fall into three categories, based on the type of composition of which they were primarily composed. With some exceptions,³ they contained literary

¹ For the definition and review of all the sources see Worthington 2008; van den Hout 2008; Attinger forthcoming.

² Attinger (forthcoming) offers the following criteria by which compositions could be brought together in compilations in all contexts in OB and later. These are 1) literary compositions (in the broadest sense) including copies of royal inscriptions and compositions with an identifiable subscript, e.g. balbale. Included here also are the letters and proverbs. 2) those invoking a shared deity (e.g. BE 29, 1, containing a *tigi* and *adab* to Ninurta). 3) thematic similarities (e.g. SRT 13 containing a hymn to Sulgi and Išme-Dagan, both of which praise the athletic abilities of the king). 4) those drawn together for pedagogical considerations (compositions studied at school). 5) those part of the repertoire of the singer (e.g. VS 2, 2 containing the Death of Dumuzi and two *ešēnmas*). 6. short works, naturally grouped together. Here, I hope to contribute an explanation to the issue of the cross-over between different groups, in particular his groups 1), 4) and 6) as used within the OB scribal schools.

³ Exceptions include compilation tablets containing the Tetrad and the Decad. The two sources for the Tetrad are given in Tinney 1999, 162f. Delnero 2006, 91 adds N 4972, a multi-composition tablet containing LiB and Eb A. Sources for the Decad include UM 89-14-1 (a prism with LiA, Al, InB and assumed to originally have contained ŠA and EnA as well), IB 1511 (KH, EJN, IEb, NuA and GH) (Delnero

letters and associated miscellany, wisdom compositions,⁴ and model court records;⁵ in other words all the short composition types attested in the OB Sumerian literary corpus. There is very little overlap among these three groups, so that for instance rarely do we find wisdom compositions on tablets containing primarily letters. Model court records almost never occur in compilations with other types of texts.

Finally, I will draw on evidence from compilation tablets containing Inana-Dumuzi songs. Of course these compositions likely do not come from the same context as the others. For instance, only one Inana-Dumuzi song occurs in House F,⁶ which indicates that even if these hymns were occasionally used in the Nippur scribal curriculum with which we are familiar, they were certainly on the outskirts. They serve here, then, for the purpose of comparison.

It is well accepted that compilation tablets, as Tinney stated, “are rarely, if ever, random collections of compositions.”⁷ Instead, Alster suggested,

there seems to be some rationale behind the way in which the compositions are grouped together. However, this should not be thought of in terms of modern groupings according to library definitions, literary genres, or similar. Association seems to have played a great role.⁸

This idea fits well with what is known elsewhere of Babylonian principles of organization. For instance, regarding the compositional process of the proverb collections Taylor argued,

the (ancient) editorial style of the proverbs is not unlike that more familiar in other scholastic material such as lexical texts, omens and law codes. The ‘entries’ are linked by graphic, thematic or phonological relations

2006, 32). Four additional type I tablets (three from Nippur and one from Ur), each containing two Decad compositions, are also attested (Delnero 2006, 32).

⁴ By wisdom compositions I defer to the definition of Alster 2005c, 25. Of the six types of compositions Alster includes under this heading, four are found on compilation tablets, these include: texts relating to the vanity theme, animal fables and short stories not involving humans, morality tales (short stories involving humans), and folktales (Alster 2005c, 24f.).

⁵ To my knowledge there are only two compilation tablets containing the so-called model court records. For description of these tablets and their texts see Roth 1983, 279ff.

⁶ Inana-Dumuzi R (Robson 2001, 56). Moreover, textual rubrics associate these compositions with musical instruments and so scholars have argued that they functioned instead within the cultic sphere (Delnero 2006, 121).

⁷ Tinney 1999a, 34.

⁸ Alster 2005c, 226.

(or combinations of these). And the paradigmatic character of such texts lends itself readily to the production of additional entries.⁹

Tinney has taken a more cautious approach to determining the connections between compositions, suggesting perhaps a curricular function although not ruling out the principle of association. He proposed,

such collective tablets do offer insights into ancient associations of texts, though we must be aware that the associations may be secondary, based on curricular criteria or incidental observed similarities rather than primary compositional or functional relationships.¹⁰

While Alster and Tinney emphasized the existence of secondary associations, Vanstiphout focused on primary associations, suggesting that compilation tablets are an “indication of the [Babylonian] generic approach.” In this way

the procedure [of compilation] illustrates a grouping and subdivision of the literary material as conceived and applied by the Mesopotamians themselves, which makes sense as to content and structure of the texts, and which is also expressed materially.¹¹

In other words, for Vanstiphout the groupings found on compilation tablets are one of a number of “formal phenomena” that “are manifestly based on a recuperable generic consciousness, or even intention.”¹²

There are, therefore, two theories regarding the origin of the groupings found on compilations. Alster and Tinney suggested that such groupings were based largely on association or other incidental similarities, perhaps with pedagogical intent. Vanstiphout argued that compilations are reflections of ancient generic classifications, although he certainly would not deny that factors such as association also played a role.

These hypotheses are not necessarily contradictory and certainly both primary and secondary associations were factors in the process of compilation. At issue is not the nature of compilations tablets that are composed of only one type of composition; no one doubts the Babylonians saw the material in the model contracts, for instance, as

⁹ Taylor 2005, 20.

¹⁰ Tinney 2000, 23.

¹¹ Vanstiphout 1999, 82f.

¹² Vanstiphout 1999, 83.

belonging together. Confusion, however, arises to what the compilations of mixed types represent and how the material found on them came to be associated. Was free association the primary catalyst? Are issues of curricular intent at play? Or did compositions that we would classify as different genres seem one to the Mesopotamian mind?

The degree to which these factors influenced the process of compilation has yet to be systematically analyzed. Here, I will investigate the compilation tablets containing SEpM compositions. My focus first is on the associations of juxtaposed compositions within SEpM to see what criteria, if any, can explain their connections. I will then compare the groupings of literary letters and related miscellany to the other types of compositions that appear on OB scribal school compilation tablets, namely wisdom compositions, and, for the purpose of comparison, Inana-Dumuzi songs.

3.1 *Literary Letters and Related Miscellany*

As I have shown in Chapter 2.1, the order of the Nippur SEpM is based on the more or less stable order of compositions on compilation tablets and in catchlines. Although SEpM compositions were studied throughout southern Babylonian, the complete content and structure of any similar collection outside Nippur is more difficult to reconstruct given the smaller amount of evidence. As such, discussion here will focus on the Nippur manuscripts containing SEpM compositions. I will occasionally reference unprovenanced manuscripts when they add significantly to our data set.

3.1.1 *Thematic groupings of SEpM compositions*

First, upon examination of the principles by which individual pieces were ordered or clustered, certain compositional groupings appear, which are based on thematic similarities. The gaps between these groups are filled by the four miscellaneous compositions (SEpM 9, 10, 14, 20).

SEpM 1–5: royal correspondence

SEpM 6–8: letters of petition to kings from citizens of Ur and Nippur

SEpM 9: pseudo-historical inscription

SEpM 10: votive dedication

- SEpM 11–13: letters between high officials dealing with agricultural matters
 SEpM 14: legal text
 SEpM 15–17: letters about people away from home
 SEpM 18–19: letters of petition and prayer from citizens of Nippur
 SEpM 20: votive dedication
 SEpM 21–22: letters about scribes

3.1.2 *Relationships between juxtaposed thematic groups*

The correspondences between the juxtaposed thematic sets are relatively straightforward. The connection between SEpM 1–5, 6–8, and 9 is based on royal ideology. SEpM 1–5 are letters of the Ur and Isin kings, which highlight the ruler's military authority. SEpM 6–8 are petitions to kings, emphasizing the role of the ruler in the administration of justice. SEpM 9 places the Isin dynasty at the end of a long line of famous kings and as the legitimate guardian and caretaker of the sacred Nippur precincts. Indeed, the first nine compositions in SEpM promote the Isin kings as the legitimate heirs to the Ur III crown, fit to rule as all the great kings who came before them. The association of SEpM 1–9 with the remainder of SEpM, compositions all associated with Nippur, was further intended to reinforce Isin's claim to that city.

SEpM 10 and 20, votive offerings that end with the same wish, frame SEpM 11–19: a series of epistles—with the exception of SEpM 14—to and from Nippureans. SEpM 11–13 may have followed the compositions dealing with royals (SEpM 1–9) because they are the letters of the next highest level of officials below the crown. SEpM 14 too deals with the affairs of high officials, in this case the local Nippur elites. As a miscellaneous composition, SEpM 14 serves as a divider between the “official” letters (SEpM 11–13) and the more private and personal missives which follow.

SEpM 15–17, letters from people away from home, are followed by two letter prayers from Nippureans. SEpM 18, a letter of petition, shares its style with SEpM 19 but its subject matter and mortal correspondents with SEpM 17. SEpM 19 and 20 are both concerned with the goddess Nintinuga.

Finally, SEpM 21 and 22 deal with the school. However, the reason these letters were included outside of the frame provided by 10 and 20 is unclear. Perhaps they served as the literary subscript to the

collection intended to praise the school and the Nippur instructors, much in the same way that literary compositions end in praise of Nisaba. It is also possible that the frame is coincidental and instead that SEpM 10 served as an expedient divider between the section of royals and the section of Nippur elites while SEpM 20 was only attracted in that position due to the presence of a shared deity with SEpM 19.

Notably, compositions featuring the same characters are not always juxtaposed. For instance, Lugal-nesaĝe occurs in SEpM 7 and 18 and Zuzu/Enlil-alsag in SEpM 14, 18 and 21. In these instances, thematic similarities seemed to have been stronger or more significant than those of character.

Overall SEpM consists of several thematic groups of letters, interspersed with four miscellaneous compositions. In general, the primary connection between the SEpM letters and the SEpM miscellaneous compositions seems to be their Nippur setting as evidenced by toponyms, personal names and divine names. Thematic concerns also played a role so that SEpM 9 was included in the section on royals while SEpM 14 was included among the other “daily life” texts. Thus, the same factors at work in motivating the inclusion of the epistles into SEpM also served to attract these miscellaneous compositions into the collection.

3.1.3 *Compilations combining letter collections*

Compilations of letters are almost always thematically divided so that rarely does anything else occur in compilations of CKU, CKL or SEpM compositions. However, of particular interest in determining the factors that drew compositions together are those compilation tablets that combined compositions from what are generally considered to be separate letter collections. For instance, SEpM letters occasionally occur in compilations with CKU (other than SEpM 1).¹³ The connection between SEpM and CKU was certainly the CKI (SEpM 2–5), and was deliberate in order to emphasize Isin’s role as the successor to the Ur III state.

In addition, on one compilation tablet, a SEpM letter occurs with the CKL. X4 begins with SEpM 22 and is followed by the petition of

¹³ N77, N79, Ur5, X6.

Sin-iddinam to Utu and that of Ninštapada to Rim-Sin. Brisch noted the possibility that “the scribe who compiled the Ashmolean prism [X4] wanted to continue [SEpM]”¹⁴ and, at least in this one unprovenanced tradition, this seems certainly to have been the case.

Finally, ANL letters are included occasionally in compilations with SEpM compositions. In N42 (7, 8, ANL 7), ANL 7, a letter of petition, may have been attracted by the presence of the petitions SEpM 7 and 8. In contrast, X18 (SEpM 9, ANL 9, and four unidentified compositions) seems to reflect a different collection entirely. Ur1 contains royal letters and letters of petition from SEpM together with two letter prayers only attested at Ur. This too must reflect an alternative corpus.

3.1.4 *Compilations combining SEpM miscellany and “wisdom” or model contracts*

There are two additional compilation tablets that contain SEpM compositions as well compositions of very different corpora. N70 and X15 are compilations that, unlike the majority of compilation tablets, mix types of compositions. N70 contains on the obverse (in order of appearance) X1, Millstone, LazySlaveGirl, a series of four proverbs and SEpM 9. The reverse of this tablet contains SEpM 10, 14 and 20, X2, which includes a list of diseases that parallels OB Lu Recension B col. v 50¹⁵ and NV versions A and B.¹⁶

X15 is an eight-column tablet containing model contracts, with SEpM 14 as the final composition. The association of SEpM 14, the announcement of the loss of a seal, with a collection of model contracts is fairly transparent. Model contracts were likely fashioned after real legal documents. SEpM 14 also replicates concerns expressed in Ur III administrative sources. Moreover, several parallels to SEpM 14 come from compendiums of legal formulae used in early education.¹⁷

Notably, only SEpM miscellanies occur with wisdom or model contracts. The association of the compositions on N70 is less readily transparent than that of X15, however, and so it is instructive to examine

¹⁴ Brisch 2007, 78.

¹⁵ See MSL 12 189f.

¹⁶ For this reconstruction see Civil 1972, 83–90; Alster 2005c, 275, 286.

¹⁷ For which see Chapter 2.2.2.4.

other compilations that contained compositions similar to those of N70, the compilations of wisdom compositions.

3.2 *Wisdom Compilations*

Among the “wisdom” compositions published by Alster (2005b), those that often occur on compilation tablets include “vanity theme” compositions,¹⁸ fables, morality tales involving humans, and folktales. More specifically, all of these compositions fall under the heading of “critical wisdom,” associated to the scribal milieu and to be contrasted with “conventional wisdom,” as seen primarily in the father-son instructions.¹⁹ Compositions of these types include:

Vanity Theme: BER, EnlNam, NV A–D
 Fables: Goose&Raven, Fox&Enlil, Millstone²⁰
 Morality tales: Adulterer, Fowler&Wife, LazySlaveGirl
 Folktales: OldMan

Several other compositions occur on compilation tablets with these “critical wisdom” compositions. These include Lisina, hymns to Marduk and Abi-ešuh, letters, and proverbs.²¹ The following chart lists all the published compilation tablets containing these texts.

¹⁸ For this label see Alster 2005c, 25ff.

¹⁹ “Critical wisdom” refers to those compositions “characterized by scribal wit” and, more specifically, “by the sophisticated use of literary and proverbial references in new and unexpected contexts.” This is in contrast to the traditional wisdom compositions whose “wisdom is mostly proverbial, often bound to the traditional wisdom concept” a good man is recompensed by the gods in his own lifetime” (Alster 2005c, 30). Traditional wisdom compositions include FI, InstrŠur and InstrUrN (Alster 2005c, 24f.). These compositions are not included in the discussion as they are traditionally not found on compilation tablets (but see below), although InstrUrN does occur on dual-composition tablets together and so were likely related (see Alster 2005b, 223f.). They also occur on one compilation tablet together with BiFi (VAT 6977+6978). I cannot explain the association of BiFi with these other compositions. For one interpretation see Alster 2005c, 224.

²⁰ Civil 2006.

²¹ Alster 2005c, 370f.

Table 7. Compilation tablets containing “wisdom” compositions²²

Manuscript (tablet type)	Order of Compositions
3N-T326 + 3N-T360 (Type I)	Lisina, 14 line letter, NV D, EnlNam, nam-dub-sar-ra (=Lisina Group)
CBS 4605 (Type III _m)	EnlNam, nam-dub-sar-ra
CBS 1208 (Type I)	Hymn to Marduk, Abi-ešuh B, NV C, BER
CBS 6924 + N3097 (Type I)	NV C, X
CBS 8010 (Type I—fragment)	[...] OldMan [...]
CBS 13777 (Type I)	Proverbs from Ugarit, NV B
CBS 14047 (Type I—fragment)	[...] Goose&Raven [...]
N3074 (Type I)	X, NV C, X
N3097 (Type I?—fragment)	14 line Lisina group letter, EnlNam
N3330 (Type I?)	SP21 (including LazySlaveGirl)
N 3579 + Ni 2763 (Type I)	NV B, NV A, proverbs concerning old age (also quoted in OldMan), X, [...], NV C, X, numerical exercise
N 4360+N4444b (Type I)	SP 9, LazySlaveGirl
N 7918 (small fragment)	Fowler&Wife [...]
Ni 3023 + Ni 4144 + Ni 4452 + Ni 4473 + Ni 4483 + Ni 4484 (Type I)	X1, Millstone, LazySlaveGirl, proverbs, SEpM 9, 10, 14, 20, X2, NV A, NV B
Ni 4305 (ISET 2 18) (Type I?—fragment)	[...] OldMan [...]
UM 29-13-264 (Type I?—fragment)	Fowler&Wife, X
UM 29-16-79A (Type I)	Lisina, 14 line letter, NV D, EnlNam, nam-dub-sar-ra
UM 29-16-616 (Type I)	NV A, [...]
BM 54699 (Type P)	OldMan, NV B, Goose&Raven, X
BM 80184 (Type I)	Abi-ešuh B, NV C, BER
BM 80091 (Type I—fragment)	[...] BER [...]
BM 80184 (CT 44 18) (Type I—fragment)	[...] BER [...]
Copenhagen Antiksamlingen A 10062 (type I—fragment)	SP 23 (including Adulterer)
Copenhagen National Museum A 10068 (Type I)	SP 24 (including Fowler&Wife)
JCS 31, 1979, 143 no. 18 (Type III)	SP 21 (including Fowler&Wife)

²² Transliterations of these tablets as well as further references to additional publications are found in Alster 2005c.

Based on this data, Alster suggested that vanity theme compilation tablets were “inscribed with a sequence of compositions possibly reflecting similar themes, and sometimes in what seems to be a standardized order.”²³ In particular, the so-called Lisina Group is attested twice and a second sequence—the Hymn to Marduk, Abi-ešuh B, NV C and BER—also occurs on two compilation tablets. While most of the compositions that form the Lisina Group are too fragmentary to enable conclusions regarding their grouping, Alster argued that in the second sequence “the point that can be made in this case seems to be that ideas related to the concept of the brevity of life and the possibility of obtaining more lasting possibilities, be it for a king, whether legendary or not, or for ordinary humans, were a common concern in all these texts.”²⁴ As such, this grouping seems to have been thematically motivated.

Indeed, there is little crossover between types of wisdom texts, so that, for instance, compilation tablets containing primarily vanity themed compositions are generally limited to compositions only of this type. There are, however, several notable exceptions. First, letters occur with these compositions, although never SEpM ones. At present, the very fragmentary nature of these letters makes analysis of their inclusion impossible. Secondly, the prism BM 54699 (CT 42 36)—OldMan, NV B, Goose&Raven, X—mixes types, although OldMan, like NV B, may also be connected to the vanity theme.

Finally, as mentioned at the end of section 3.1.4 above, N70 is a compilation of wisdom compositions as well as all four SEpM miscellaneous compositions. Notably, the compositions are clustered together based on type: fables, proverbs, SEpM miscellany, and vanity theme texts. Unfortunately, a lacuna between the proverbs and SEpM 9, the first SEpM composition on this tablet, make determining connections impossible.

3.3 *Other: The Decad, Model Court Records and Inana-Dumuzi Songs*

In the interest of completeness, other compilation tablets are relevant to this investigation, particularly those that contain more than one

²³ Alster 2005c, 265.

²⁴ Alster 2005c, 297.

type of composition. As stated above, compilation tablets used within the OB Nippur Sumerian scribal curriculum contain primarily one of the three types of short Sumerian literary compositions: literary letters, wisdom compositions, and model court records. Exceptions include compilations with compositions that are much longer than those typically found on compilation tablets, namely Tetrad and Decad compositions. These compilations are normally limited to compositions only from one fixed corpus so that, for instance, the Tetrad hymns are attested only with other hymns from this corpus. Likewise, with one exception, the Decad compilation tablets only contain Decad compositions. Thus, although they are too long to regularly occur on compilation tablets, their association in these instances is obvious. One exception is a dual composition tablet featuring *Al*, a Decad composition, on the obverse and *FI*, a composition not part of the Decad, on the reverse.²⁵ The association between *Al* and *FI*, both of which deal with agricultural matters, is thematic. The type of compositions—a song and a set of instructions—is quite different.

Of the three types of compositions that consistently occur on compilation tablets, however, there are some occasional crossovers. We already investigated in some detail how this is the case for the compilations containing wisdom compositions and literary letters. In contrast, model court records almost always occur only with other model court records. One exception is the case of *Suen-mahha* brought to *Išme-Dagan* that is found on a compilation tablet of model contracts.²⁶ The thematic association between model contracts and court records requires no further explanation.

Although not obviously a part of the Nippur curriculum as we understand it, *Inana-Dumuzi* songs are worth examining here. Such complications sometimes contain songs to other goddesses, such as *Inana* alone or *Ninkasi*, or to kings. One example has 3 *Inana-Dumuzi* songs as well as *UrN D*.²⁷ A second compilation contains 3 *Inana-Dumuzi* compositions and two *Inana* songs, *ŠS C* and *InF*.²⁸

²⁵ K 6697 + K 8069. Delnero 2006 source X2 for *Al*. Civil 1994 source E3 for *FI*. Despite the museum siglum, this tablet was likely from either Larsa or Ur (Civil 1994, 10).

²⁶ CBS 11324, for which see most recently Klein and Sharlach 2007.

²⁷ CBS 8037+ (Tinney 1999a, 34).

²⁸ N 4305 (Tinney 2000).

A third example includes Inana-Dumuzi songs and NkA.²⁹ Similarly, a dual-composition tablet combines ID E and NkA.³⁰

The association of Inana-Dumuzi songs with those to other deities and kings is primarily one predicated on ancient textual subscripts. The majority of Inana-Dumuzi songs contain the subscript bal-bal-e.³¹ For example, almost all the hymns on the compilation tablet Ni 4569 (DI G, DI O, DI F1, NkA) contain this subscript independently.³² This is also true of the majority of the compositions preserved on N 4305 (DI A, DI G, ŠS C, DI C, InF).³³

This is not the case, however, for the compilation tablet containing Inana-Dumuzi songs and UrN D (CBS 8037+), a composition that ends with the doxology zà-mí. Instead, the connection between UrN D and the other songs is primarily one of theme. As Tinney has argued “Ur-Namma D is in fact also concerned with sexuality and fertility and should be considered part of the Dumuzi-Inana literature, at least in some incarnations.”³⁴

One final compilation tablet is instructive. VAT 7025 (VS 10, 199) contains on the obverse LiC and UrNin E. The reverse preserves InF and Nanše B.³⁵ LiC and UrNin E are both identified by their sub-

²⁹ Ni 4569 (Tinney 2000).

³⁰ AO 5385 (Tinney 2000).

³¹ Sefati 1998, 22.

³² Sefati 1998, 22 n. 30. The subscript of DI F1 is not preserved (*Ibid.*, n. 33). That the Ninkasi hymn is also a bal-bal-e see Sefati 1998, 385. On the nature of bal-bal-e hymns see Sefati 1998, 22ff.; Shehata 2009, 293–297.

For an alternate interpretation see Civil (1964a) who did not consider this hymn to be connected to the Inanna-Dumuzi literature. Tinney (2000, 25) considers this possibility but also suggests “that the inclusion of Ninkasi A on two collective tablets with other Inana-Dumuzi texts is motivated either by the general connection between beer and sexuality or perhaps by reference to extensive sexually connotative imagery that remains at present undocumentable.”

³³ InF is more problematic. The only source for the end of this composition—VAT 7025 (VS 10 199) has only [x x x] “inana-kam. While a restoration [bal-bal-e] is tempting, it is far from certain. Indeed this ascription is difficult given that Emesal compositions are traditionally labeled balaġ, eršema, or šir-nam-šub (Black 1991, 23) and not bal-bal-e. Elsewhere, Tinney (2000, 25) explained the association of InF with the other hymns on this tablet: “Another, Inana F, is an Emesal self-praise of Inana, the subscript of which is unfortunately broken; the goddess describes how she is invested with her symbols of office by Enlil, An, and other gods and gives a litany of her shrines in various cities. While the text does not directly relate to fertility and sexuality, the demonstration of Inana’s legitimacy and the scope of her power are pertinent to the ideological aspects of the interactions between king and Inana, as most clearly illustrated by Išme-Dagan J.”

³⁴ Tinney 2000, 25. For this argument see Tinney 1999a.

³⁵ Alster 2005b, 12.

scripts as adab compositions for An. Nanše B, however, is a bal-bal-e. Although the literary subscript of InF is not preserved, it is elsewhere associated with other bal-bal-e compositions.

Without the presence of the literary subscripts it would be difficult to understand the connections between these compositions. Upon examination of the literary subscripts, however, we see that the connection was certainly one of ancient typology (assuming that InF is a bal-bal-e), although the association between the two adab compositions and the two labeled bal-bal-e is less certain. Also unclear is the reason for the choice of compositions here; in other words of all bal-bal-e and adab songs it is uncertain why these in particular were used.³⁶

In sum, the combination of Inana-Dumuzi songs with other hymns on compilation tablets seems to have been based partly on emic textual classifications. Elsewhere, thematic connections are clear. Extrapolation, however, may indicate that other groupings reflect emic categories as well, even when we lack the rubrics.³⁷

3.4 Discussion

Although the majority of compositions on compilation tablets do not contain rubrics, it is likely that texts were associated based on ancient classifications. This seems obvious in the cases of compilation tablets containing texts of only one type, e.g. Inana-Dumuzi songs or model court records. That this was the case also for compilation tablets containing different types of compositions is likely, given that the associations are generally identifiable. This is especially true in

³⁶ For this reason, Alster proposed that the connection between InF and Nanše B was that the goddesses in these compositions “are said to have one unusual feature in common: Inana carries the sky as a tiara on her head and the earth as a sandal on her feet; likewise, in the hymn *Nanshe and her Fish*, the goddess is said to wear a fish as a tiara on her head, and a fish as a sandal on her feet. In other words, the connection seems to be this unusual verbal association, which is far from immediately intelligible to us” (Alster 2005c, 226).

³⁷ Of course the Inana-Dumuzi songs likely do not come from the same context as the wisdom compositions and literary letters. For instance, only one Inana-Dumuzi hymn occurs in House F (Inana-Dumuzi R; Robson 2001, 56), which indicates that even if these hymns were occasionally used in the scribal curriculum they were certainly on the outskirts. Moreover, textual rubrics associate these compositions with musical instruments and so scholars have argued that they functioned instead within the cultic sphere (Delnero 2006, 121).

cases where groupings are thematic. For instance, as demonstrated above, the bulk of compositions included in SEpM are set in Nippur or otherwise focused around Nippur persons or its cults. Those that do not, i.e. SEpM 1–5, are royal correspondences intended to link the Isin dynasty to both the Ur III dynasty and the city of Nippur. In this way, although all SEpM compositions are not letters, they share other distinctive features, features that may signal emic categories.

As we have seen, the internal arrangement of SEpM compositions is also thematic. The first nine compositions address the issue of Isin royal ideology. The next set deals with agricultural affairs involving high Nippur officials; then follow letters from people away from home, letters of petition and prayer, and letters involving scribes. The miscellaneous pieces that make up SEpM similarly have a Nippur theme and several divine and human characters that occur in the collection's epistles.

Compilations of wisdom texts also seem to be clustered together primarily by theme, although few compilations of such texts repeat the same sequence. Furthermore, Inana-Dumuzi songs are found together with hymns to other deities not only as a result of ancient textual labels—i.e. they are all *bal-bal-e*—but also for thematic ones.

There are of course discrepancies for which no explanation is readily apparent, especially in the letter collections. For instance, while SEpM 1–9 were included to emphasize the legitimacy of the Isin kings, the Nippur centric letters rather served to enhance the legitimacy of the Nippur elite milieu (see Ch. 2.6). Compositions, such as the ANL letters, or short compositions set in Nippur, such as EnlNam, would have fit in SEpM just as well as those which were included.

In sum, it is clear that—at least in the majority of cases—the connection between compositions was based largely on the type of composition so that, for example, most compilations consist only of letters, model court records or Inana-Dumuzi hymns. The juxtaposition of particular compositions within a thematic compilation was motivated also largely by theme. Free association certainly played a role in organization on a micro-level—e.g. in the arrangement of the thematic groups within SEpM or the order of *bal-bal-e* hymns on one compilation—as some have posited.³⁸

³⁸ E.g. Alster 2005c, 226. See discussion at the beginning of this chapter.

Others suggested that ancient generic classifications also influenced the association of compositions.³⁹ Yet, although genre may have played a role in such arrangements, it is well established that the concept of genre itself is anachronistic when applied to Mesopotamia.⁴⁰ While it would be hard to argue that the Babylonians did not see literary letters or love songs as belonging together, the boundaries of their generic groups might not be where we would expect them to be. This, in turn, would explain the presence of the miscellaneous compositions among the SEpM letters. As such, lacking the emic textual categories for all but the Inana-Dumuzi songs, we cannot be certain that generic considerations served as the organizing principle of compilations. Moreover, even rubrics like those given for the Inana-Dumuzi songs more likely reflect performance categories than generic ones,⁴¹ and so we should be cautious of ascribing ancient labels *a priori* to generic groupings. Ultimately, we cannot point to one single principle which drew compositions together in compilations, nor should we be expected to be able to identify one.⁴²

What, then, was the purpose of grouping short texts together on compilations? To answer this question it will prove instructive to look first at how the longer Sumerian literary texts were learned.

Delnero showed that students learned longer compositions by breaking them down into more manageable excerpts. The excerpts were written on Type III tablets until the student had completed studying the entire text. He would then review the composition on a Type I tablet.⁴³

The individual compositions that make up SEpM, however, are shorter than the sections of longer literary compositions used for a day's exercise. The average number of lines per Type III source for

³⁹ Vanstiphout 1999, 82f.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Holm 2007, 271 with references.

⁴¹ Black et al. 2004, xxv.

⁴² Similarly, Delnero demonstrated that there is not one single principle on which all catalogues were organized, and we cannot use them to argue for emic generic categories. For instance, summarizing entries of catalogues—i.e., those in which compositions of a particular type are summarized in a single line instead of given separate entries—are often based on text typology, e.g. 10 ù-ne-e-du₁₁ ⁴šulgi or 3 dumu-é-dubba (Delnero 2006, 129). In other catalogues compositions are grouped together clearly based on theme, so that for example one catalogue lists the incipits for four Gilgameš narratives together (Delnero 2006, 128).

⁴³ Delnero 2006, 106; 2010a. This is essentially the same principle by which Robson 2002 has demonstrated that scribes learned mathematical texts.

the Decad is between 28–37 lines.⁴⁴ The average number of lines per SEpM composition is 18 (high = 33 (Tumal), low = 11 (SEpM 16)). Thus, if in one day a student studying the Decad learned between 28 and 37 lines of text, then a student studying SEpM would need to prepare two different compositions to learn the equivalent amount of lines. Based on this data, the purpose of Type III tablets containing two compositions becomes clear, as these would represent one day's work.⁴⁵ Therefore, short compositions of similar theme were learned in conjunction with one another, perhaps on a regiment of two compositions per day, and then compiled together after a student had mastered a set.⁴⁶

In conclusion, because of similarities of theme and style, I suggest that compositions on compilation tablets were learned at roughly the same stage of training. This may explain the association of compositions for which we can offer no other rationale. In other words, the occurrence of compositions within a compilation may reflect a group that was studied in conjunction with one another. We can imagine the following scenario: students needed to study these compositions but, as the texts were not long enough to occupy a full day's lesson, they were charged with learning two per day. Eventually, once enough texts were learned to demonstrate mastery of a unit, the texts were compiled for a final exam.⁴⁷

This theory also explains the compilations for which thematic and stylistic connections are not readily apparent, such as N70 or X15. N70 in particular seems to reflect a progression, from fables and proverbs—which we traditionally associate with elementary education—to SEpM and wisdom compositions—compositions associated with advanced education. However, that N70 reflects the order in which one student learned these compositions does not mean that this was the order all students learned them. Indeed, that the combination of compositions on N70 is never repeated suggests quite the opposite.

⁴⁴ Delnero 2006, 104.

⁴⁵ See also Michalowski 2011.

⁴⁶ But note Qišti-Ea who may have taken three months to work through SEpM. Michalowski 2011 notes the following sequence of tablets “signed” by this scribe: YBC 4185 (CKU 1)—one month lapse—YBC 4654, YBC 4606 (CKU 13)—3 month lapse—YBC 7405 (Sin-iddinam to Ninisina).

⁴⁷ Similarly, Michalowski 2011 assumes that compilation tablets reflect final exams so that “the order and content of the collective tablets provides some evidence for the reconstruction of the manner in which CKU letters were studied in OB schools.”

It is important to stress that it is not possible to draw conclusions about curricular sequences from the order of compositions on compilation tablets; in most cases we can only say that compositions included together were studied around the same time. This is due primarily to the fact that most sequences are never reduplicated. Those that appear to be more stable are fixed for clear reasons that have nothing to do with pedagogy. For instance, that SEpM seems to have a fixed order is due to ideological (link of Isin first to Ur and then Nippur, stressing scribal importance of Nippur) and not pedagogical reasons. The same is likely true of the Lisina group, and the Tetrad and Decad as well.

In other words, in at least one group of Nippur schools—that represented by the bulk of our data—SEpM was likely learned in order, or at least intended to be understood in a relatively fixed sequence once fully learned. However, when the order of SEpM compositions does vary, this would have been the result of personal preference of individual teachers or students. Moreover, because few other compilations are repeated verbatim, we cannot use compilations to deduce curricular order. Indeed, it is notable that, aside from SEpM, all other compilations of short texts are unique.⁴⁸ This provides additional evidence that the order of SEpM was deliberate and, likely, meaningful.

Aside from SEpM, we can only identify independent incidents in which certain compositions seem to have been learned in conjunction or around the same time as each other. Moreover, there are few if any links between compilations so that we cannot conclude that one compilation was studied before or after another. As such, the sequence of compositions on compilation tablets cannot be used to assign curricular order to compositions.

⁴⁸ Including even the CKU. Michalowski 2011 argues “[t]he main point I have tried to stress throughout this book is the tenuous nature of CKU as a ‘corpus’, so that even in Old Babylonian times we have to assume that only a small core of these letters constituted a regular part of schooling in Nippur and in places that used a similar set of teaching tools around the time of Samsu-iluna. Others were either composed ad hoc by schoolmasters or teachers, or were part of traditions that were preserved outside of the central educational syllabus. And although there are indications that when the royal letters were taught, they were often used in groupings, and not individually, it is clear that the very notion of The Royal Correspondence of Ur/Correspondences of the Kings of Ur as a corpus is a modern one, and cannot be projected into ancient times.”

In conclusion, I return to the questions that opened this chapter: What do the groupings of compositions found on compilation tablets represent and what was their purpose? The groupings reflect sets of compositions that a student had learned at roughly the same phase of study—presumably because of similarities of style and theme. These are the only certain motivating factors behind the associations of compositions on compilation tablets.

CHAPTER FOUR

CURRICULUM

The curricular order of elementary Old Babylonian Sumerian education in the city of Nippur has been convincingly reconstructed.¹ By considering factors such as tablet typology and the correlations between the texts on the obverses and reverses of Type II tablets,² scholars such as Veldhuis, Robson and Tinney have argued that the Elementary, or Phase I, training followed a logical progression. After beginning with an introduction to the cuneiform script, the beginning student then learned Sumerian vocabulary, grammar and syntax through the study of lexical lists, model contracts and proverbs.³ Although there certainly existed variation in this phase among different Nippur schools, the basic content and, more importantly, the order of study, remained relatively stable.⁴

¹ Veldhuis and others reconstructed the early curriculum based primarily on Nippur material. While it seems clear that this curriculum was relatively standardized throughout Babylonia, “it is impossible to reconstruct these other programs in detail for lack of sufficient numbers of exercise tablets” (Veldhuis 2004, 83 n. 4). Indeed, often when there are data from other southern cities, they are at odds with what is established for Nippur. For instance, Type II tablets are “not known at all” from either Ur or Larsa (Robson 2008, 99, 102). One must distinguish also between northern and southern Babylonia, see for instance the remarks of George 2002, 37. With these factors in mind, discussion here centers around the scribal curriculum in the south, the evidence for which comes primarily from Nippur.

² Type II, or student-teacher tablets, are essential tools for reconstructing the order of the early phases of the curriculum. Used to introduce a new text as well as to practice an older one, the obverse of such tablets contained a model composition with room in the second column for the student to make a practice copy. The student then used the reverse to review a text he had previously studied (Veldhuis 2000, 384). This means that with enough Type II tablets we can reconstruct the order of study of the texts written on them, as the reverse composition was always studied before the obverse composition (Veldhuis 1997, 41).

³ Veldhuis 1997, 81ff.; 2004, 83f.

⁴ Robson 2001, 48 has argued that while the order of study varied from house to house in Nippur, the contents remained largely the same. According to her data, however, the primary difference between House F and the rest of Nippur is only the absence at House F of the most elementary exercises. For example, *tu-ta-ti* is unattested and there is only one example of an exercise in basic sign formation (Robson 2001, 47f). The difference, then, is of content; the students trained in House F must have had their first exposure to cuneiform writing elsewhere.

It is clear that such order would have been essential in the elementary phases of education. As Michalowski has observed, school was intended to teach a language “that was as far removed from the language or languages [the students] spoke at home as Chinese is from Dutch or Polish today. Thus the overall design of the curriculum was organized with very practical matters in mind.”⁵ It is, therefore, not surprising that the “the [elementary] school curriculum of southern Mesopotamian schools appears to have been remarkably uniform.”⁶

The study of the Tetrad—four hymns often associated together in compilations—is commonly understood to have followed upon the completion of the final part of the Elementary Phase, which included model contracts, proverbs and some advanced lexical lists. This assumption is based on the occurrence of Tetrad compositions on elementary tablet types—types II and IV.⁷

Although Type II tablets were used primarily for elementary compositions—i.e. lexical lists, model contracts and proverbs, literary texts are occasionally attested. Literary compositions found on the obverse of Type II tablets include: LiB (the most popular Tetrad composition), EnlNam, Goose&Raven, the Emesal lament me-e i-li ga-ám-dug₄, and an Akkadian Sargon Letter, as well as several unidentified pieces.⁸ The text on the reverse of these tablets consists of sections of lexical lists, suggesting that the accompanying literary compositions were learned soon after the lists. Moreover, the length of these texts makes them likely choices as beginning literary compositions. These texts are assumed to be the earliest literary compositions studied,⁹

However, there are also examples of lists in House F which Veldhuis 1997, 81 does not include: Ugumu, OB Lu and Proto-Aa. In addition, there are over 70 elementary lists from House F that have not been identified. (Robson 2001, 48).

⁵ Michalowski 2003, 110.

⁶ Michalowski 2003, 111.

⁷ Tinney 1998, 46; 1999, 162f., 167. For a description of these tablet types see Chapter 1. Although LiB is the only member of the Tetrad to appear on Type II tablets, the other three compositions in this grouping are also considered part of this elementary corpus.

In most instances, literary compositions do not occur on Type II tablets. Excerpts of literary compositions, however, do occur with somewhat more frequency on Type IV tablets. As more and more exemplars come to light, it seems likely that the use of lentils may have been dependent on the personal preference of the teacher or on regional variation. For example, lentils are rare in Nippur House F but occur more frequently in other houses in the vicinity (e.g. House B, Robson 2008, 98).

⁸ Veldhuis 1997, 65f.

⁹ Civil 1975, 145 n. 36; Veldhuis 1997, 65; Tinney 1999, 167.

and together to have formed a corpus of transitional literature, likely learned alongside the Tetrad. Study of this corpus—i.e. the Tetrad as well as the compositions listed above—can be considered as an Intermediary Phase in the curriculum. The full extent of the corpus, however, has never been adequately investigated, a problem to which we will return below.¹⁰

Only two exemplars of type II tablets preserve literary compositions on the reverse. One (CBS 10988) contains LiA while the other (UM 29-13-591) has Edubba A.¹¹ Although the obverse of the latter is unidentified, the obverse of the former contains a section of Proto-Aa.¹² The occurrence of a Decad composition (LiA) learned *before* lexical sections is puzzling, as it contradicts the general assumption that the study of the Decad followed the Tetrad. Delnero assumes that this text is anomalous and “not necessarily representative of the sequence of the scribal curriculum as a whole.”¹³ It is also conceivable that a precocious student was given a section of a literary composition to study ahead of his peers.¹⁴

The assumption that the Decad was the first group of literary compositions learned after the Tetrad is based primarily on the sequential occurrence of these compositions as the first ten entries of several literary catalogues.¹⁵ The frequent occurrence of the Decad among texts found in schoolhouses across Babylonia indicates that they were among the most oft-studied literary texts.¹⁶ Placement of the Decad

¹⁰ The compositions currently identified with this group would then include: those compositions actually on Type II tablets (LiB, EnlNam, Goose&Raven) as well as the remainder of the Tetrad (IdD B, Eb A, Nisaba A), NV, Lisina, BER, Millstone, LazySlaveGirl, and OldMan.

¹¹ Veldhuis 1997, 66 includes CBS 9856 (Al) among this list. Delnero 2006, 98 however has shown that this source was not in fact a Type II tablet but instead a Type I tablet that originally contained Al and “was later reused to copy an extract of Proto-Aa.”

¹² Veldhuis 1997, 66.

¹³ Delnero 2006, 97.

¹⁴ Proto-Aa is itself an advanced bilingual list and is not part of the standard elementary curriculum (Robson 2001, 48; Veldhuis 1997, 66). On the study of extra-curricular lexical lists see Veldhuis 2004, 94f.

¹⁵ For the use of literary catalogues to order the curriculum see Tinney 1998, 48; 1999, 159, 168ff. This is also the assumption on which Veldhuis (2004, 63) bases his reconstruction of the advanced curriculum.

¹⁶ See for instance Delnero 2006, 1849 where he argues “the fact that the compositions in the Decad are attested in more copies than most other literary texts, and duplicates of these compositions have been found together with elementary exercises from the first phase of the curriculum at numerous sites (Nippur, Ur, Sippar, Uruk,

as the first corpus learned by aspiring scribes in the advanced phase of their education means that all other literary texts must have been studied *after* the Decad.¹⁷

The placement of the Decad as the first subject of advanced study is part of the assumption that the Advanced Phase of Sumerian education followed a set-order of study, just as did the Elementary Phase. For instance, Vanstiphout proposed a graded system of advanced education in which the student progressed from first grade, which included the proverbs and the Tetrad as well as other fables and short didactic pieces, through fifth grade, each grade similarly laid out with a syllabus of required reading.¹⁸ Although Vanstiphout himself presents this scheme with “many reserves and hesitations,” it has been more or less accepted by Michalowski and Brisch albeit with similar caution.¹⁹

Vanstiphout’s system is, to some extent, at least tacitly based on the assumption that a scribe would learn shorter and easier compositions first, and progress to longer and more difficult ones. However, Delnero has suggested that attempts to order a curriculum based on perceived philological difficulty is flawed. Delnero cautions “that the grading of the grammatical and syntactical structures of a language according to their presumed complexity is based on a system of linguistic classification and analysis that is decisively modern.”²⁰

More conservatively, Robson argued that “although we do not have a clear-cut tablet typology from which to deduce a well defined and ordered curriculum, it is possible to at least outline the contents of that curriculum, based on contemporaneous literary catalogues and some basic quantitative methods.”²¹ However, Delnero called into question the use of literary catalogues as evidence for the placement of the

Isin, and Babylon), would seem to indicate that these texts would have been among the first literary compositions that were encountered by scribes at this stage of their education.”

¹⁷ For example, Piotr Michalowski in his forthcoming study on the CKU suggests that his corpus “was learned at some point after the decad in Nippur,” although he concedes that further precisions is not currently possible. Veldhuis (2004, 63f.) comes to similar conclusions as to the placement of his composition, Nanše C. Robson (2001, 55ff.) suggests that, at least in House F, the House F Fourteen were studied immediately after the Decad.

¹⁸ Vanstiphout 1999, 83.

¹⁹ Michalowski 2003, 111; Brisch 2007, 12. In particular, Michalowski assigns literary letters to third grade, alongside hymns, odes and performative texts.

²⁰ Delnero 2006, 93.

²¹ Robson 2002, 346. For example, Robson has identified in one of the school houses in Old Babylonian Nippur, the so-called House F, a group of 24 “mainstream”

Decad as the first group of literary compositions learned after the Tetrad, an argument based on the Decad occurring as the first ten entries in the Nippur and Louvre catalogues. Delnero argued instead that all catalogues, including the Nippur and Louvre ones, represent inventory lists, and so cannot be relied on to reconstruct curricular order.²² As such “the premise underlying the reconstructions of the second phase of the curriculum is incorrect.”²³ In regards to the Decad, while this corpus was certainly a group with a specific order often learned in sequence, as shown by compilation tablets and catchlines, there is no evidence to place it as the first group of literary compositions studied in advanced education.

Vanstiphout also suggested that compilation tablets could be used to determine curricular order. For instance, he argues that

[f]irst grade texts occur on compilation tablets, sometimes together with lexical teaching material. Second grade ‘books’, if short enough, will also appear in compilations, sometimes together with first grade material. Both grades show a preponderance of exercise tablets over ‘master copies’ or complete editions. The three subsequent grades can be distinguished as to the falling off of the percentage of exercise tablets and the increase of well-executed complete editions.²⁴

However, the assignment of literary genres to different grades based on compilation tablets is problematic. Indeed, as I argued in Chapter 3, the occurrence of a composition on a compilation tablet is not evidence of the level of difficulty of the text and so there is no *a priori* reason to put compositions that occur on compilation tablets at an earlier grade.

While the presence of compositions on compilation tablets cannot be used as a criterion to determine their curricular placement, compilation tablets are useful tools, as they indicate emic textual groupings. This is particularly true when the order of the texts found on compilations is corroborated by catchlines. It is for this reason, for example, that both the Tetrad and the Decad are considered to reflect Babylonian

compositions, each of which are attested on over 18 different sources on average. Among this group are the Decad texts.

²² Of course inventory lists and curricular ones are not necessarily mutually exclusive. However, to demonstrate that a list was also curricular would require other evidence, for which there is none.

²³ Delnero 2010b, 34.

²⁴ Vanstiphout 1999, 83f.

groupings studied together in a more or less fixed order. SEpM is likewise such an assemblage.

Through tablet typology, scholars established that the Tetrad was among the first literary texts studied.²⁵ However, this diagnostic is of little use in ordering the remainder of the curriculum. Indeed, thus far, it can only be determined that certain compositions, e.g. the Decad or the House F Fourteen, were studied with more frequency than others. Aside from this, however, we lack the tablet typology in the advanced curriculum that, as we have in the elementary curriculum, would give us a sense of the order in which compositions were learned. Moreover, although we can suggest that a number of other short literary compositions were studied around the same time as the Tetrad given their occurrence on Type II tablets, there are not enough Type II tablets with literary compositions to establish an order for these compositions as there is in the Elementary Phase.

The occurrence of SEpM compositions in roughly the same order on compilation tablets, as well as the use of catchlines, at least at Nippur, indicates that SEpM was considered a series in antiquity with a relatively stable order. However, although the internal order of study of SEpM may be relatively certain, where in the curriculum does this group belong?

SEpM compositions occur separately on single-column tablets and together in larger collections on multi-column tablets and prisms (see Chapter 2.1.1). Because only two Type IV tablets are attested among the 151 tablets on which SEpM compositions occur, and because they were never written on Type II tablets, it is reasonably certain that SEpM was learned after the Tetrad and likely after the other short compositions more frequently attested on elementary tablet types (e.g. EnlNam, Goose&Raven). However, this does not indicate the placement of SEpM within the Advanced Phase of Sumerian literary education. Did it fall at the very beginning, immediately after the Intermediate Phase and before the Decad? Or was it learned at some point after the Decad?

If we cannot determine a curricular order based on such things as tablet typology, the degree of difficulty or literary catalogues, what criteria can we use? As a first step in attempting to better understand the overall curricular order of the Advanced Phase of scribal education,

²⁵ Tinney 1999.

it may be more useful to try to place independent compositions or sequences of compositions in relative order to one another. The Decad is an effective tool of comparison because it is the best attested corpus in the Advanced Phase of education. In what follows, then, I will investigate the relationship between SEpM and the Decad through a comparison of several features of each corpus: tablet typology, frequency of individual compositions, literary language, and the use of lines shared with other Sumerian texts.

4.1 *Tablet Typology*

The distribution of SEpM compositions on the different tablet types is almost identical to the Decad:

Table 8. Tablet typology of SEpM and the Decad

	Type P	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Unknown
SEpM	4%	16.5%	0	75.5%	1.3%	2.7%
Decad	4%	24%	> 1%	72%	> 1%	0

As Delnero showed, this in turn “is similar to the general distribution of tablet formats across the corpus of Sumerian literary texts as a whole.”²⁶ In particular, it is also comparable to that of the other letter collections.²⁷

In contrast, however, whereas Decad compositions occur on Nipur compilation tablets only with other compositions from the Decad, SEpM compositions occasionally occur on compilation tablets with pieces from elementary education. For example, the obverse of N70 contains (in order of appearance) an unidentified composition, the fable and morality tales *Millstone* and *LazySlaveGirl*, a series of four proverbs and SEpM 9. The reverse of this tablet contains SEpM 10, 14 and 20, an unidentified composition including a list of diseases which parallels OB Lu Recension B col. v 50,²⁸ and NV A

²⁶ Delnero 2006, 100.

²⁷ Although less than 1% of CKU tablets are prisms (Michalowski 2011).

²⁸ See MSL 12 189f.

and B.²⁹ The second example is X15, an eight column tablet containing model contracts with SEpM 14 as the final composition.

The occurrence of SEpM compositions on compilation tablets with model contracts and proverbs provides a direct link between these compositions and those learned in the Elementary Phase. By associating SEpM compositions and fables, N70 also connects SEpM to the short literary compositions learned in the Intermediary Phase. This is significant because, as I argued in Chapter 3, compositions grouped on compilation tablets may indicate that these compositions were learned at roughly the same phase of study.

Before examining the frequency of compositions, it is of value to explore the connections between SEpM compositions and the ones belonging to the Intermediary Phase, a corpus consisting of literary compositions that occur on Type II tablets as well other compositions attested on compilation tablets with them. According to this definition, the Intermediary Phase would include: LiB, EnlNam and Goose&Raven—compositions preserved on Type II tablets; the remainder of the Tetrad; and a group of short vanity theme compositions and fables that are also attested on compilation tablets with the aforementioned compositions.³⁰

Although compositions similar to those on N70 occur on Type II tablets, none of the N70 compositions actually does. Yet elsewhere, EnlNam is attested on two compilation tablets with NV D as well as another one-off letter.³¹ Goose&Raven occurs on a compilation tablet with NV B.³² Thus, by two degrees of separation, SEpM compositions are connected to EnlNam and Goose&Raven, both of which occur on Type II tablets. According to the reasoning given above, this association suggests that SEpM compositions could also be considered part of this Intermediary Phase.

The classification of SEpM compositions as elementary or intermediate for this reason alone, however, is too simplistic, as it ignores other important variables. For instance, as demonstrated by Table 8 the distribution of SEpM tablet types is consistent with the Decad,

²⁹ For this reconstruction see Civil 1972, 83–90; Alster 2006, 275, 286.

³⁰ Including NV, Lisina, BER, and the fables of the Millstone, LazySlaveGirl and OldMan.

³¹ 3N-T326+3N-T360 (Alster 2005c, pls. 36–39) and UM 29-16-79A. This grouping is known as the so-called Lisina group for which see Civil 1974/75, 67; Alster 2005c, 275.

³² BM 54699 (CT 42, 36). See Alster 2005c, 280.

which certainly came after the Intermediary Phase. In other words, tablet typology places the SEpM corpus securely within the Advanced Phase literary education.

This becomes even more apparent when comparing the distribution of tablet types of Intermediate compositions to that of the SEpM and the Decad:

Table 9. Tablet typology of SEpM, the Decad, EnlNam and NofV

	Type P	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV
SEpM	4%	16.5%	0	75.5%	1.3%
Decad	4%	24%	> 1%	72%	> 1%
EnlNam	0	42.9%	42.9%	14.3%	0
NofV	7.7%	69%	0	7.7%	15.9%

In conclusion, although the occurrence of SEpM compositions on compilations with elementary and intermediate texts may suggest a placement of SEpM closer to the beginning of the Advanced Phase and the end of the Elementary Phase alongside the Tetrad and, perhaps, before the Decad, such crossovers are extremely limited. Only two compilation tablets that contain SEpM compositions also contain texts from either the Elementary Phase or the Intermediary Phase. Thus, based on tablet typology the connection of SEpM to the Advanced Phase is much stronger than its connection to the Intermediary Phase.

4.2 *Frequency of Individual Compositions*

The distribution pattern of the independent lists and collections that make up the lexical and proverbial corpora are well established and it is clear that, while certain lists were part of the standard curriculum, others were extra-curricular.³³ Indeed, certain lists may have been exercises improvised on the spot.³⁴ This is a feature of Elementary Phase compositions that is not exhibited among Advanced Phase compositions; for obvious reasons there are no improvised hymns

³³ Veldhuis 2000, 384f.; Taylor 2005, 25.

³⁴ For instance, Taylor has suggested that certain proverb collections “might be *ad hoc* creations compromising sayings drawn from a common pool” (Taylor 2005, 25).

or myths. At first glance, however, it does seem to be that certain SEpM compositions enjoyed considerably more popularity than others. Moreover, there are a number of one-off letters. Thus it might be the case that the SEpM shares an important feature with Elementary Phase compositions.

However, at Nippur (both within Nippur at large as well as in House F)—the only site for which our sample is thought to be relatively representative—the letters appear to have been more or less evenly distributed:

Table 10. Frequency of individual SEpM compositions

Letter	Nippur sources (House F)	Ur sources	Other	Unknown	Total
SEpM 1	9 (2)	3	1 (Su)	2	15
SEpM 1a	4 (1)	0	0	0	4
SEpM 2	7 (1)	0	2 (Nv, Uk)	2	11
SEpM 3	6 (1)	1	1 (Nv)	2	10
SEpM 4	7 (0)	2	0	3	12
SEpM 5	3 (0)	0	0	1	4
SEpM 6	9 (1)	2	3 (Is, Uk)	5	19
SEpM 7	14 (3)	1	0	5	20
SEpM 8	14 (2)	1	1 (Ki)	1	17
SEpM 9	12 (1)	3	0	1	16
SEpM 10	11 (3)	0	0	0	11
SEpM 11	8 (3)	0	1 (Ma)	1	10
SEpM 12	6 (2)	0	0	2	8
SEpM 13	7 (2)	1	0	0	8
SEpM 14	6 (0)	0	1 (Ma)	2	9
SEpM 15	6 (1)	0	1 (Ma)	0	7
SEpM 16	6 (0)	0	0	0	6
SEpM 17	8 (2)	0	1 (Ma)	0	9
SEpM 18	8 (2)	2	0	1	11
SEpM 19	10 (3)	3	0	3	16
SEpM 20	6 (1)	0	1 (Ma)	1	8
SEpM 21	6 (2)	0	0	0	6
SEpM 22	5 (2)	0	0	1	6
Average	7.7	1.9	1.3	2.2	10.6

This becomes more apparent when we take into account the average standard deviation for the corpus, whereby the standard deviation represents the amount by which the total number of sources for any one composition within the SEpM deviates from the average of the total

number of sources for all SEpM compositions. The standard deviation of SEpM is 3.8. In contrast, the standard deviation of the Decad corpus is actually much higher: 14.9.³⁵ This is perhaps surprising given that the Decad is a corpus in which all the individual compositions are considered to be more or less evenly studied. Given the evidence from standard deviations, then, the same must be true for SEpM.

By comparison, certain Sumerian Proverb collections were studied extensively (Nos. 1, 2+6 and 3), and others, while less common, were still popular (Nos. 5, 12, and 21 are attested on 10 or more exemplars).³⁶ The rest, however, is preserved on fewer than nine exemplars and many on fewer than five. Indeed, when contrasted with the SEpM and the Decad, the standard deviation for the Proverb Collections is much higher; while the number of manuscripts that feature proverbs averages 13, the standard deviation is 27.8.³⁷

Just as some Proverb Collections seem to have been one-off exercises, so too are some literary letters. For instance, the ANL corpus, consisting of mostly one-off compositions, shows that the study of letters did have commonalities with the study of proverb collections. It would seem that at least in certain phases of education teachers would make up on-the-spot lessons for more able students. Perhaps particularly precocious students could even create their own exercises.

However, the presence of one-off letters does not necessarily imply that the letters were studied early on, as is the case for the lexical and proverbial corpora. While this does indicate a degree of spontaneous creation, whether by the teacher or the student, this in no way provides sufficient evidence that these letters were elementary literary exercises. Instead, we can conclude only that letters are a genre that—due primarily to length—can be easily improvised, unlike a longer narrative or hymn.³⁸

³⁵ Based on the number of sources for each composition listed in Delnero 2006, 99f. Moreover, considering only the Nippur sources, the numbers are similar: the standard deviation for the SEpM is 2.1 and 10.6 for the Decad.

³⁶ Of course such statistics can be skewed by the large number of Type IV tablets containing one or two proverbs. Such tablets do not provide evidence that an entire collection was popular, only that certain proverbs were well studied.

³⁷ Based on the lists of manuscripts found on ETCSL.

³⁸ For other instances of such composition, note, for example, the letter of Lugal-ibila to Lugal-nesaĝe, a latter 2nd millennium version of SEpM 22 combined with additional material pulled from other scribal school themed compositions (Civil 2000, 113). Although once created, it was copied widely, as evidenced by the five extant

4.3 *The Use of Poetic Language*

Veldhuis identified a number of textual features that serve as criteria to establish the use of poetic language in a given text. These include the physical layout of the text on the tablet; the use of poetic devices such as parallelism, repetition and imagery; and the use of special grammatical constructions and vocabulary that are not attested in other textual genres such as administrative or liturgical.³⁹

All the Decad compositions contain such features. SEpM compositions, however, are less consistent. It is well established that the letters of petition and letter prayers rely on figurative language and draw on images and vocabulary familiar from other epics and myths. Other SEpM compositions, however, resemble administrative letter-orders and legal documents. For example, SEpM 2, 13, 17, 21 and 22 are devoid of poetic devices.

Poetic language does occur in all types of letters (e.g. royal correspondences, daily life letters), even if not in every letter itself. For instance, all four types of parallelism identified by Berlin are found in the SEpM.⁴⁰

1. Synonymous parallelism in which the content of the first clause is directly repeated in the second:

SEpM 18:13–14

mah-zu íb-sur-re-en

bar-saĝ₃-zu íb-til-en

Your elevation has crushed me.

Your abuse has finished me off.

See also SEpM 6:12–13, SEpM 7:12–13, SEpM 18:15–17.

manuscripts known from Babylon and Ur, but also Assur, Boğazköy and Ugarit (Civil 2009, 109–110).

³⁹ Veldhuis 2004, 49. For discussion of Sumerian poetic structure see also Berlin 1979, 9–31; Black 2003–2005. For a general survey of Sumerian literary techniques see the still seminal study of Wilcke 1976a.

⁴⁰ Berlin 1979, 13f.: synonymous, antithetic, interrogative and synthetic.

2. Antithetic parallelism in which the second clause contradicts or contrasts the first:

SEpM 16:4–6

urim₂^{ki} iri giri₁₇-zal ^dnanna-ka
 eridug^{ki} iri hé-ĝál ^den-ki-ga-ka
 ĝe₂₆-e eger ^{ĝi}ig é nar-gal-ka al-tuš-en

(Whether) in Ur, the delightful city of Nanna,
 (or) in Eridu, the abundant city of Enki,
 I am (stuck) sitting behind the door of the house of the master musician

3. Interrogative parallelism in which an interrogative clause is contrasted with a indicative clause:

SEpM 5:6–7

dirig-zu-šè arad lugal-a-ni-ir na-nam
 a-na-aš-àm ĝe₂₆-e nu-zu-ĝu₁₀-ta za-e šu ĝar lugal-zu li-bí-in-gi₄

He is a better servant to his king than you
 How could I not have known that you have not been avenging your king?

4. Synthetic parallelism in which two clauses are more similar to each other than they are to the surrounding clauses, even if they do not share identical contents:

SEpM 7:17–19

ama ugu-ĝu₁₀ u₄-sakar ubur-ra-gin₇
 dūg-ge-eš ga-ĝu₁₀ gu₇-ĝu₁₀ ka-ĝu₁₀-ta ba-an-kar
 a-a-ĝu₁₀ ša úr-bi-ta gùr-gùr-ru-a ki-ta ba-an-ĝar-re-en

My birth mother, whose breasts are (like?) crescents,
 took my consumption of milk from my mouth (as I sat) in (her) lap.
 My father, who raised me in his lap, cast me away.

Parallelism also makes use of different types of repetition, including semantic and syntactic parallelism and assonance. It is perhaps surprising, however, that the most common form of parallelism in Sumerian

literature⁴¹—that in which words, phrases and passages are repeated verbatim—is more or less absent from SEpM. While words are occasionally repeated,⁴² there is only one instance where an entire sequence is repeated almost verbatim (SEpM 4:9–11 parallel to ll. 16–17).

Aside from parallelism, other poetic features occur as well. For instance SEpM 4:15 uses *á-mè*, an epithet for specific weapons unattested outside the literary corpus. Other SEpM compositions make use of puns. For example, some of the names of the witnesses in SEpM 14 seem to be jokes, and SEpM 16 is sent by a monkey.⁴³

Finally, it is well established that consistent line division is one of the determining factors of Sumerian poetry.⁴⁴ SEpM compositions are likewise ordered by this principle. Although they do not always represent full sentences, they always correspond to meaningful sections.

To summarize, poetic language clearly has a place within SEpM. According to Jakobsen's theory of poetic function, however, poetic language is present in all discourse, so that a text is marked as poetry only when such language dominates.⁴⁵ How, then, are we to determine whether we are dealing with verse or prose in corpora such as SEpM, where poetic language is present but not necessarily evenly distributed? While we should be careful not to lump all SEpM compositions together, as some may have been prose and others verse, the almost complete absence of repetition from all the compositions is curious. Since repetition is the basis of poetry, its absence strengthens the identification of SEpM as a collection of prose literature.

However, Veldhuis cautioned that we should not necessarily expect “to be able to distinguish between poetry and literary prose.”⁴⁶ As such, it is unnecessary to classify SEpM as literary prose or verse, and this distinction may in fact be meaningless.⁴⁷ Instead, the distribution

⁴¹ Berlin 1974, 24.

⁴² Eg. SEpM 7:1–4; SEpM 12:9, 10; SEpM 15:4; SEpM 16:9.

⁴³ Kleinerman 2008, 177; Ch. 2.4.2.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Veldhuis 2004, 49; Black 2005, 593f. Note, however, that consistent line division in and of itself cannot be a criteria to determine curricular level. As Vanstiphout (1993, 322 n. 91) demonstrates proverbs also have this “literary” style so that “in fact, there are almost no formal differences between single proverbs and lines from sets of wisdom or even practical instructions.”

⁴⁵ Jakobsen 1987, 62–94; for the application of Jakobsen's theory to Sumerian literature see Veldhuis 2004, 47f.

⁴⁶ Veldhuis 2004, 48.

⁴⁷ See for instance Michalowski 1996, 147: “One may propose that beginning perhaps as early as the late 3rd millennium, Sumerian was, simply speaking, the poetic

of poetic language within the SEpM is consistent with the types of texts that make up the collection. “Daily-life” letters use less poetic language as these are, in theory, mimicking genuine documents. Letters of petition and prayer use more poetic language, perhaps to make their descriptions more poignant.⁴⁸

The juxtaposition of poetic and non-poetic compositions makes it tempting to argue that SEpM served as some sort of transitional corpus, used to introduce verse and to contrast it with prose. There is nevertheless no *a priori* reason to assume that verse was inherently more challenging than prose. Moreover, there is no evidence that students learned prose before verse. Thus the presence of poetic language in SEpM as a whole does little to clarify where in the curriculum the SEpM belonged.

4.4 *Shared Lines*

SEpM compositions include lines of text that are identical to those found in other literary compositions. For example, SEpM 6 directly quotes ELA and Angim.⁴⁹ SEpM 10 contains a line that is identical to one found in a Sumerian proverb,⁵⁰ and SEpM 16 contains a clear parallel to SP 3 150, although not an exact duplicate. As such, what appear to be direct quotations from compositions in both the Elementary and Advanced Phases of Sumerian education are embedded within SEpM.

language. This is to say that one must view all the ancient languages as a hierarchy within a world of discourse, and not as completely distinct entities. Within this sociolinguistic matrix Sumerian was, by its distribution, marked for poetic function pure and simple.” Similarly, Black (2005, 594) argues that “it is likely that poetry was constitutive for many genres, and indeed that all Sum. literature was composed in poetry or at least heightened lineated language.” This is in contrast to Akkadian literary letters, which were composed in prose (Black 2005, 594).

Finally note also Vanstiphout (1993, 328): “there is the ineluctable fact that ‘non-literary’ discourse is only known to us in an extremely minute number of instances.” These “instances” include only legal documents: “Since economic documents do not contain ‘language’ as such, the only group of some significance I can think of are law reports. Of course, letters, law ‘codes’, and inscriptions are to be regarded as literary texts” (Ibid. n. 103).

⁴⁸ See further Chapter 2.2.2.2. Michalowski (2011) draws a clear distinction between letters of petition, which he argues are written in verse, and other literary letters, written in prose with poetic elements.

⁴⁹ SEpM 6:3 = ELA 318; l. 6 = Angim 1.

⁵⁰ SEpM 11:8 = SP 15 C14 l. 21.

Elsewhere, SEpM compositions share imagery familiar from other literary texts:

Letter	Passage	Parallel
SEpM 6:4	ša kù ^d inana-ke ₄ pàd-da, “chosen by the shining heart of Inana”	ELA 34, Utu-heĝ al 25
SEpM 6:7	dug ₄ -ga-zu inim diĝir-ra-gin ₇ hur nu-gi ₄ -gi ₄ -dam, “Your command, like the words of a god, is irrevocable”	EnlNinl 151–2
SEpM 14:3	niĝir-e sila-sila-a si gù ba-ni-in-ra, “the herald blew the horn in the streets”	Lugalbanda I 25, DG Seg. H 11
SEpM 18:17	ní te-te-ĝu ₁₀ -ta šà-ĝu ₁₀ úš lugud ba-si, “In place of my reverence, I have filled my heart with blood and gore”	SgLeg B 10
SEpM 19:12	ki-nú šub-ba-ĝu ₁₀ -da 2-kam-ma-bi, “when I had taken to bed for the second time”	Lugale 584
SEpM 19:17	im-ma-si im-ma-diri-ga-ta, “Since it is enough for me, it is too much for me”	NMŠ 138, Edubba B 64f.

Similarly, Michalowski already pointed out the numerous intertextual references in SEpM 9.⁵¹ For example, the cult places mentioned in the text occur in Nippur Proto-Kagal. Moreover, many of the characters are borrowed from the SKL, while others come from compositions such as the BER and the Nippur proverbs.⁵² Michalowski, therefore, concluded that SEpM 9 was “not a historical document, but quite simply a school concoction based primarily on the SKL and on the Nippur version of the list Proto-Kagal.”⁵³

The use of common lines within SEpM raises questions as to the direction of such borrowings.⁵⁴ Proverbs are embedded throughout

⁵¹ Michalowski 2006.

⁵² Michalowski 2006, 159.

⁵³ Michalowski 2006, 162.

⁵⁴ The problem of the direction of borrowings has been discussed especially in relation to the proverb collections. For example, Alster (2005c, 36) points to CA 109, which is reduplicated in SP 16 Sec. F1. Here, not only is the direction of the borrowing unclear, but also the direction of study, given how few exemplars of SP 16 are preserved (Ibid.). While Alster concludes that proverbs “may well be understood as source books for readers of literary works, for whom the proverbs represented expressions of ideas worthy of being recalled from literary works (2005c, 42),” this is not the only possible conclusion. Taylor (2005, 22) warns that “the relation between the

Sumerian literature, so the occurrence of one in a SEpM epistle is not unusual.⁵⁵ The quotations of literary texts may have been deliberate, as it allowed the student to familiarize himself with motifs he would meet later on in his training. However, they may also reflect no more than common topoi that were part of a general corpus of stock imagery from which text compilers could draw.

Unfortunately, the presence of borrowings within the SEpM is not conclusive as to its placement within the curriculum. Although its presence reinforces the conceptualization of SEpM as a literary collection, it cannot help to more precisely indicate when this particular group of texts was learned.

4.5 *Discussion*

Upon examination of SEpM and its comparison to the Decad, it becomes clear that there is no unambiguous evidence to place SEpM as a corpus learned either before or after the Decad with any certainty. Some composition groupings on compilation tablets may link SEpM to some Intermediate Phase compositions. However, these groupings are rare and tablet typology places SEpM securely in the Advanced Phase. Literary language and shared lines are inconclusive as proverbs, an elementary exercise, share these features as well.

Moreover, there is no unambiguous evidence by which to define the Intermediate Phase of Sumerian education. While it is clear that the Tetrad and certain other compositions were among the first literary texts studied, the data for this—namely Type II tablets—is so limited that it is impossible to establish how standardized their use was or to derive any ordering principles from them.

compositions is not always clear. It is not obvious whether these are cases of texts quoting proverbs, proverbs quoting literature or both quoting something else. Of course, the answer need not always be the same in every case.”

Moreover, Black 1998, 119 advises against creating intertextuality: “Sumerian works or contexts that a late-twentieth-century AD reader is through historical accident in a position to juxtapose may not have been available to some ancient scribes or authors.” Moreover he argues that “certain expressions or images may even have seemed commonplace at a particular time without a given poet’s being familiar with a particular earlier instance of that tradition which does happen to be preserved for us today (Ibid.)”

⁵⁵ For instances of proverbs that occur elsewhere in Sumerian literature see the list provided by Taylor 2005, 22.

At this point it is worth asking an important question: was there an established Phase II curriculum? Indeed, given the many sources of conflicting evidence, is it logical to assume such a thing? To be sure, early learning requires a logical progression of steps: a student has to learn signs before vocabulary words, vocabulary words before sentences. And, in fact, there is compelling evidence to demonstrate this structure in early Babylonian education.

However, this evidence starts to break down already at the end of the Elementary Phase. Delnero suggested “that a closer look at the compositions [Type II] tablets contain reveals a much more complex picture of the sequence of the elementary curriculum than typically appears in reconstructions.”⁵⁶ For instance, “there are numerous inconsistencies in the order in which metrological tables and advanced lists like Proto-Ea, Proto-Lu, and Proto-Diri, which were allegedly learned toward the end of Phase I, occur on the obverses and reverses of Type II tablets, suggesting that the sequence of this stage of the curriculum was not fixed.”⁵⁷

Moreover, as I demonstrated, there was certainly no prescribed order for advanced education. Instead, it is clear that scribal masters instructed students using compositions that, for pedagogical or personal reasons, they deemed most effective. Certain compositions, such as LiB⁵⁸ and some of the short fables and vanity themed compositions, were clearly favored early on and so can perhaps be considered an Intermediary Phase. The extent of this corpus, however, cannot be defined at present and certainly was not fixed in antiquity.

Indeed, the order of study of compositions, even within more or less standardized corpora, such as SEpM, was not fixed. For instance, two catchlines associate SEpM 19 and 21 (N38, N55). The reason for

⁵⁶ Delnero 2010b, n. 12.

⁵⁷ Delnero 2010b, n. 12; Veldhuis 1997, 58. Regarding the proverb collections, see Alster 2005c, 30. Here he notes that the first CUNES proverb collection “is a characteristic product of the scribal schools, in which teachers were used to making their own specific choice of lines to be included from proverb collections and other literary sources, reflecting the needs that may have arisen during the teacher’s confrontation with the pupil’s varying degree of competence” (Ibid.).

⁵⁸ E.g. Veldhuis 2004, 63 who notes that while LiB was widely used, as it exists in many school copies in a number of cities, the other three Tetrad compositions texts “were theoretically part of the same introductory level but apparently most teachers skipped them, since the number of sources for these is considerably lower.”

this readily becomes apparent if we assume flexibility in the order of study. In this case, a scribal master may have assigned SEpM 19 and 21 together, deliberately skipping SEpM 20, a votive text, in favor of assigning related letters at the same time. Furthermore, as discussed above (sec. 4.2), the existence of ANL, a collection of mostly one-off letters, suggests that such corpora were not closed but that there was room for expansion and extrapolation at the teacher's discretion.⁵⁹

Moreover, variation in the curriculum occurred both at Nippur and between different cities. As shown in Chapter 2, while many of the same letters were taught throughout Babylonian schools, evidence for SEpM as a collection comes only from one site—Nippur—and likely from only several school houses within that city. In general, it is becoming apparent that our understanding of the curriculum is biased by the Nippur-centric nature of the extant material and that the reality in other cities may have been very different.⁶⁰

Although there was certainly an established set of compositions from which school teachers could draw, it is also certain that there was a degree of flexibility as some compositions clearly enjoyed more popularity than others.⁶¹ Notably, this is suggested in several ancient sources. For instance, ANL 9 provides evidence that variance in the curriculum led certain schools to have a more prestigious reputation than others. In particular, the sender of this missive sought to bring the type of lessons traditionally taught in the Nippur schools to his own hometown.

The end of ANL 4 is broken, but it begins with a discussion of an exchange of tablets between schools. That such exchanges transpired is demonstrated in an unprovenanced Old Babylonian tablet, CUNES 50-07-013. At first glance, this document appears to be a small balaḡ catalogue. The colophon, however, is in Akkadian, and reads:

⁵⁹ Similarly, Michalowski 2006, 155 has argued that “various short texts, some of them letters were often combined together for pedagogical purposes by teachers in Old Babylonian schools, often on an ad hoc basis. The only one that seems to have been used with some regularity is SEpM, but even that may have been a short-lived collection that was used in a few houses in Nippur.”

⁶⁰ See also Delnero 2009, where he comes to a similar conclusion based on comparison of type III tablets from Nippur and Ur.

⁶¹ Robson 2008, 98 has come to a similar conclusion regarding the use of tablet types: “Each different tablet type can be associated with a particular pedagogical function, although their formats and functions varied somewhat from school to school, city to city, and indeed from exercise to exercise.”

an-nu-tim balaĝ-meš *i-šu* (21? erasure)
ša la-a i-šu-ú balaĝ-meš *šu-bi-lam*

“I have these (out of 21?) balaĝ-lamentations

The ones I do not have, send (those) balaĝ-lamentations to me!”⁶²

Of course it is not certain that this exchange occurred between teachers. It demonstrates, however, that people who were literate and kept compositions knew that there was a larger corpus and sought to exchange compositions with each other. Considered together with CUNES 50-07-013, ANL 4, then, suggests that Old Babylonian teachers were similarly part of a network of exchange. Teachers set their own curriculum and exchanged tablets and ideas.

Although it is uncertain how many schools were in Nippur at any one time, it seems likely that most if not all of these scribal masters chose which compositions to assign to further the education of their students, and so there was no set curricular order that existed in Old Babylonian Nippur. Rather, the distribution and use of SEpM suggests not the presence of a fixed curriculum but the allowance for personal preference.

⁶² Gadotti & Kleinerman 2011.

CHAPTER FIVE

CORRESPONDENCE

This was his message but its meaning was lost. The words were too difficult for the messenger so he could not repeat (them). Because the words were too difficult for the messenger so he could not repeat (them), the lord of Kulaba patted some clay and stamped the message as if with a seal. Before then, no one had ever written down words on a tablet. Now, under the sun on this very day, it was indeed so. The lord of Kulaba wrote down words on a tablet. It was indeed so! (ELA 500ff.)

According to the Sumerian literary tradition, Enmerkara, the lord of Uruk, invented writing in order to send a message too lengthy and complicated for his messenger to commit to memory. Indeed, in the tale of *Enmerakara and the Lord of Aratta*, it is this very invention that ultimately enables Enmerkara to defeat his adversary as the Lord of Aratta cannot read the challenge enclosed in the message:

The lord of Aratta received from the messenger the tablet intended for him on which all (was recorded). The lord of Aratta looked at the tablet. At that moment the message was just wedges, and his brow expressed anger. (ELA 539ff.)

Yet, although the Mesopotamians associated the birth of writing with the invention of the letter, letters are not attested in the cuneiform record until much later. While the earliest tablets date to ca. 3100 BCE, letters do not appear until almost a millennium after that, ca. 2350 BC. As Michalowski pointed out, “The relatively late appearance of letters is paradoxical. If the purpose of writing is to bridge communicative distance and supplement the human memory, then the letter would seem to be the ideal form of this new technology, and yet this genre comes relatively late in the development of written forms of expression.”¹ We can add to this paradox that the Mesopotamians themselves recognized that writing and epistolary composition go hand in and hand, and even put them together in their own etiology of writing.

¹ Michalowski 1993, 2.

Despite their relatively late appearance, by the Old Babylonian period letters, or at least letter orders, were familiar within the Mesopotamian administrative system.² It is only at this time, however, that detailed letters, written exclusively in Akkadian, became ubiquitous as well. We lack almost completely Sumerian personal letters from the 3rd millennium of the type extant in later periods in Akkadian.³

As a result of the wide spread use of letters in Old Babylonian society we might expect them to be a part of the scribal curriculum at this time, and certainly any training in Akkadian would have had to include the conventions of letter writing.⁴ However, Sumerian scribal education was not intended to be practical and, learning this skill in a dead language would have had no application outside the classroom.

Instead, the Sumerian literary curriculum, taught to Akkadian speaking students after Sumerian had died out as a spoken language, preserved a Sumerian heritage intended to promote and promulgate a sense of Babylonian cultural unity.⁵ As such, the scribal school functioned as an institution, whereby it represented, as Niek Veldhuis has argued, “a pattern of social behavior that follows conventional rules, and is provided with moral authority.”⁶ As time passed, the curriculum acquired the sanction of tradition and would have been maintained precisely for this reason, even in periods of geo-political fragmentation.

In order to reflect a shared cultural heritage, the curriculum created and collected compositions whose subject matter was tied explicitly to specific cities.⁷ This is seen, for instance in the stories of legendary kings of Uruk, such as Enmerkara and Gilgamesh, and in the mythology of deities associated with particular cities, for instance Enki of Eridu, or Enlil and Ninlil of Nippur. Likewise, we can understand the inclusion of SEpM within the curriculum because, among other things, it reflected Nippur’s primacy as a center of scribal learning,

² For the history of letter writing in 3rd millennium Mesopotamia see Michalowski 1993; 2011. That Akkadian letter orders were written already in Ur III as well see Owen 2011.

³ This is more likely a case of absence of evidence and not evidence of absence, however, given the administrative context from which the majority of Sumerian material comes. The one exception to this seems to be the so-called “Letter from an Angry Housewife” (Owen 1980; Neumann 2006, 15–17; see also Michalowski 2011).

⁴ Indeed, among our limited corpus of Akkadian scribal school exercises from this period are a number of model letters (Michalowski 1983).

⁵ Veldhuis 2004, 67.

⁶ Veldhuis 1997, 27f.

⁷ Veldhuis 2004, 77.

a role we will explore in more detail momentarily. Thus, the scribal curriculum as a whole communicated a message to those who learned it, and in so doing contributed to the dissemination and maintenance of knowledge among at least one group of individuals.

What, however, was the pedagogical purpose of teaching the Sumerian epistolary form? Perhaps letter writing was just an additional aspect of the Sumerian cultural heritage that the Old Babylonian scholars sought to preserve, much like royal or divine hymns. However, given our lack of parallel Sumerian personal letters, we neither prove nor disprove this solution. It is hard to argue that the school letters continue a tradition for which we cannot point to a functional original.⁸

In order to approach the question, then, it is instructive to look at how literary letters were used in education systems from related periods and regions. In particular, I explore how and why letters were used within the first millennium Babylonian and Assyrian schools and within those of New Kingdom Egypt.

The curriculum of Late-Babylonian schools is well established thanks primarily to the recent treatment of Gesche.⁹ Based on the physical characteristics of the tablets, Gesche discerned two phases of education. Although these phases are roughly equivalent to the OB elementary and advanced phases, there are significant differences in the contents of the curriculum at the end of her Phase I. Most notably, the end of phase I training in first millennium Babylonian schools included the study of a number of literary compositions.

The distinction between the literature copied in the two phases was contextual. In particular, literary texts in Phase I consisted of compositions primarily concerned with royal ideology. In contrast, those literary texts studied in Phase II contained the more esoteric knowledge of the diviners and other temple functionaries.¹⁰ Thus, LB education was “tracked.” Phase I education taught practical knowledge as well the royal propaganda necessary for those training to be palace administrators.

⁸ Of course letters are also short and so make good daily assignments. However, longer literary compositions were similarly parceled off into daily exercises (Ch. 3.4). Moreover, as there is no evidence SEpM was learned early on in the curriculum, length alone cannot be their reason for inclusion (Ch. 4).

⁹ Gesche 2000. See also George 2003; Veldhuis 2003.

¹⁰ Gesche 2000, 148ff.

Phase II was for select students who would go on to serve in the temple or another scholastic profession.¹¹

Literary letters studied in the LB schools were learned in Phase I and, indeed, they fit well among texts of royal rhetoric. For example, the letter known as the Weidner chronicle deals with the relationship between the king and the temple and, by projecting the Marduk cult back to the OB period, strengthens the Babylonian state god's authority.¹² In addition, two letters of Sargon, one of Samsu-iluna and one of Kurigalzu would have served a similar purpose.¹³ However, while the themes of the letters certainly are well suited to Phase I training, this does not explain why their messages were produced in epistolary form.

In her pioneering work on the form, Altman defines epistolarity as "the use of the letter's formal properties to create meaning."¹⁴ In other words, the letter format is deliberately chosen to lend meaning to a composition that it would not have were it in a different format. Indeed, with the royal letters of the LB period, having the message from the mouth of the king is precisely what granted them their legitimacy. As George argued, "the composers of the letters of the kings of Isin and of Samsu-iluna both sought to establish a prerogative or right by faking a document."¹⁵

Why, however, did they choose to falsify letters? Surely, the same message could have been put in the form of a fake royal inscription or royal hymn. The epistolary form, then, must have conveyed an additional meaning.

In his discussion of the first millennium scribal curriculum and the role of the Gilgamesh epic within it, George highlights another unifying feature of the LB Phase I literary compositions:

Oral versions of the legends of Gilgamesh, Sargon and Naram-Sin were probably well known to Babylonian children, and their early exposure to written texts about these fabled heroes of remotest antiquity in the first level of schooling sought to take advantage of this familiarity. The humorous Poor Man of Nippur, widely circulated in antiquity, would also have been a familiar and entertaining tale. One may safely observe that young children will always show interest in a good story.¹⁶

¹¹ Gesche 2000, 150; 210ff.

¹² Gesche 2000, 148f.

¹³ George 2003, 117f.

¹⁴ Altman 1982, 4.

¹⁵ George 2003, 118.

¹⁶ George 2003, 36.

Indeed, we may be able to identify the humor in one particular literary letter, the so-called Gilgamesh letter, attested in both Assyrian and Babylonian copies.¹⁷ Although it fits among the corpus of royal letters, Foster proposed that instead of serving to bolster royal ideology, this letter may in fact parody Assyrian royal style.¹⁸

While the function of royal parody is unique to the Gilgamesh letter, it is tempting to speculate that the other literary letters were included in the Babylonian curriculum precisely because they used familiar characters and stories but did so in an alternate, and arguably more interesting medium than the standard royal inscriptions and chronicles the students also learned. Conceivably, then, scribal masters relied on different types of texts in order to keep the attention of the students. Forged letters from early kings may have been a particularly compelling medium, as the epistolary genre was certainly familiar. Perhaps part of the appeal of the literary letter was that it used a familiar mode of communication in a surprising or new manner, here to present the voice of long dead kings.

One final letter is certainly worth mentioning. A version of SEpM 22, the letter of Inim-Inana to Lugal-ibila was expanded upon to form a new bilingual letter, the letter of Lugal-nesaê to Lugal-ibila, attested only in post-OB copies.¹⁹ Like SEpM 22, this letter begins with discussion of proper teaching methods and ends with instructions regarding the timely dismissal of students from school, warning against the students' mischief. This text has nothing to do with royal rhetoric but would have been preserved as a reflection of Babylonian heritage. Moreover, like SEpM 22, the subject matter would surely have been entraining to both teachers and students.

In sum, the literary letters used in the Late Babylonian schools primarily reinforced the royal ideology of the other texts studied alongside them. This was achieved through content. However, as a result of their epistolary form, they were able to do so in a different and so perhaps more engaging way. In other words, the content of the letters

¹⁷ There are three known Assyrian manuscripts from Sultantepe and one now thought to be from Sippar (George 2003, 118 w/n. 111).

¹⁸ Foster 1995, 368.

¹⁹ From Ugarit, Boghazkoy, Assur and NB Babylon and Ur (Civil 2000, 109f). Few Sumerian literary letters survived into the first millennium. The letter of Sin-iddinam to Utu is attested in the Assurbanipal libraries and there is a NB fragment of what appears to be a Šulgi letter (Michalowski 2011).

would have provided the necessary ideology but it was their form that made it palatable.

Literary letters seemed to have been a part of the New Kingdom Egyptian schools for similar reasons, carrying the same message as the other non-epistolary texts studied along side them, but in an alternate form. During the Ramesside period of the Egyptian New Kingdom, there was an important change in literary composition marked by a new form of linguistic expression, Late Egyptian.²⁰ This shift enabled the modification of the classical corpus of Middle Egyptian texts, so that the dominant literary genre shifted from instructions, which expressed the central ideology, to narratives, which expressed the individual response to that ideology.²¹ This led to the creation of new types of texts, such as parodies, love poems and “proletarian narrative”²² that took on a new function as a mechanism of social commentary.²³ It is within the context of this use of literature that we can best understand the nature and role of the literary letters such as the Letter of Hori and the literary and model letters found in the Late Ramesside Miscellanies.²⁴

The Letter of Hori—more frequently referred to as pAnastasi I, the papyrus on which its most complete version is preserved²⁵—was likely composed for use within the scribal schools.²⁶ The letter is generally understood as a satirical composition in which Hori, the sender, chastises Amenemope, the recipient, for his incompetence in the scribal

²⁰ Baines 1996, 157; Loprieno 1996b, 227.

²¹ Loprieno 1996a, 55; 1996b, 220.

²² Loprieno 1996a, 55; 1996b, 218, 220.

²³ Assmann 1996, 67f. Eyre (1999, 236) argued that the creation of a new—and especially a fictional—genre allowed a medium in which the central ideology could be effectively questioned without too much potentially threatening provocation. In other words, the literary suspension of disbelief enabled the setting for which an audience could safely engage in mild criticism. The most obvious example of the function of composition as a form of legitimate social commentary are the parody texts (e.g. the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, for discussion see Loprieno 1996b, 227).

²⁴ See Caminos 1982, 243 for the distinction between model and fictional letters. In particular, model letters served to teach students to write functional letters. As such, this type includes fictitious letters thought to have been invented extemporaneously by the teacher, as well as direct copies and excerpts of genuine letters. Fictional letters are those compositions written in epistolary form with the aim of teaching the student “morals and good behavior and to familiarize him with rare words, names of articles, products and places and various topics” (Ibid.).

²⁵ Fischer-Elfert 1986.

²⁶ Wente 1990, 68f.; See also Caminos 1975, 858; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 279.

art.²⁷ More specifically, Fischer-Elfert classified pAnastasi I as a satirical disputation aimed at exposing the lack of professional knowledge with which the literate army officers and scribes were credited as well as a more general criticism of the entire educational system based on the reproduction from rote memorization.²⁸ Furthermore, the satirical function cleverly combines with this system of rote memorization—the very system under attack—so that the results are mocked in the letter but at the same time displayed by the composer. Any student or scribe who successfully copied the letter and learned the material therein would gain both knowledge of a number of important technical skills as well as exposure to the critical ideology expressed by the original composer.²⁹

Similarly, the compositions that make up the Late Ramesside Miscellanies focus on the value of the scribal art and were likely used as part of scribal education. The miscellanies included letters as well as short hymns to deities, kings and cities and other passages derived from the so-called “Teaching of Khety” or “Satire of Trades,”³⁰ which mocked the illiterate professions.³¹

Thus, these compositions carried the dominant message of the NK literary corpus as a whole. Moreover, like the Mesopotamian literary letters, the letter form must have been chosen because it added to this message. In the Late Babylonian letters, the legitimacy of their message derived from the fact that the words came directly from the mouths of the long dead kings. In the Egyptian letters, then, the satire would have derived from the message coming directly from the mouths of characters that reflected the establishment under criticism. In other words, the choice of the letter form contributed to the satirical effect.

In both cases, however, it is worth asking whether the message imparted by the letters could have been contained effectively in any other medium? Certainly, in the Mesopotamian case royal inscriptions could and did make the same point. In the Egyptian example, dialogues and debates allowed for similar satires. Such compositions,

²⁷ Fischer-Elfert 1986, 287.

²⁸ Fischer-Elfert 1986, 290.

²⁹ Similarly Houlihan 2001, 3 argues that pAnastasi I’s “light-hearted passages and mordant wit must have brightened up many a student struggling with this challenging, but entertaining lesson.”

³⁰ Quirke 1996, 381ff.

³¹ Parkinson 1996, 140.

however, would lose the weight of authenticity and personal insight that a faux letter could carry.

Furthermore, literary letters in the first millennium Mesopotamian and New Kingdom Egyptian scribal schools provided an alternative medium with which to convey the same message as the rest of the corpus of educational literature. More specifically, the letter form would have nuanced how and what type of material was presented. As a pedagogical tool, then, letters were just one more way to reinforce the lesson, and, we can speculate, to do so in a way that was engaging and entertaining.

Can we apply this rationale to explain the presence of letters in the Old Babylonian school curriculum and, more specifically, to understand the use of SEpM? Certainly the themes treated in SEpM are those familiar to the OB literary corpus as a whole. For example, SEpM 2–5, the correspondence of the kings of Isin, is associated on the one hand with SEpM 1, a letter to an Ur III king, and on the other to SEpM 6–9, compositions centered around Ur and Nippur. Thus, by connecting the Isin kings to both the Ur III state and the city of Nippur, the center of Sumerian culture, the first nine compositions of SEpM might have been designed, at least originally, to support the Isin kings' legitimacy, much like the Isin royal inscriptions that also found their way into the educational material. Like the first millennium letters, then, it would seem that the letter format was chosen here as a way to express the dominant ideology in an alternate medium.

A large part of SEpM and ANL is centered on the local elites and scribes of Nippur. We have already seen that the texts in the Sumerian literary curriculum represented the collected cultural heritage of each southern Babylonian city. While Nippur's cultural heritage undeniably entered the curriculum in the stories of Enlil and the other deities of the Nippur pantheon, SEpM expressed the local Nippur tradition in general and the scribal tradition in particular.

Nippur-centric letters, such as SEpM 19 and ANL 7 through 9 preserve local lore about individuals known from economic and administrative documents to have been prominent Nippureans several centuries prior. Several other letters, such as SEpM 22 and ANL 4 and 9, represent the scribal masters own words, enabling Nippur teachers to memorialize themselves. Preservation of the memory of Nippur elites and scribes was best suited to expression in epistolary form, which is the only Sumerian literary genre that allows for first

person narrative. For instance, letters have both the authenticity and personal detail lacking in other compositions which otherwise draw on similar themes, such as the scribal dialogues.³² Thus, through first person narrative, letters were the best medium in which to capture the personalities of Nippur elites, and reinforce the primacy of the Nippur academy, through highlighting the work of its instructors.

But this is not all the epistolary genre enabled. Indeed, the epistolary form is especially well suited to creative expression. Letters are relatively short and formulaic and so easy to extrapolate from. Evidence that original letters were composed *ad hoc* within the academic setting is suggested by those letters associated with SEpM, such as ANL 1 through 4, for which we have only one exemplar.³³ That these one-off letters do not exist by chance is suggested by how many copies we have of the others.

Creative epistolary composition would have been further enabled by the familiarity Old Babylonian teachers had with the form from exposure to it in daily life. Popular writing in this period was letter writing, so the conventions would have been familiar even if the language changed. Moreover, if we speculate that some of the one-off compositions were the creation of advanced students, then surely it is the case that composing letters in Sumerian would have been a good way to demonstrate mastery of the language. Such display would have been more difficult, if not impossible, to execute with other types of texts.

Notably, the creativity that letter composition inspired among Old Babylonian teachers, as well as their overall fascination with it, is unique to that period. This fascination is demonstrated in the wide-spread use of letters in the Old Babylonian curriculum as well as the reverential place accorded the letter in the etiology of writing as preserved in the Sumerian story of Enmerkara and also in the legend of Sargon and Ur Zababa. Of course, it is uncertain whether letters were studied in school because letters had a such an illustrious history or whether letters were given said history because of their importance to scribes. For example Michalowski has noted that to Old Babylonian scribes and

³² Although the scribal dialogues provide insight into the school, or at least the Babylonian's conception of it, they preserve only the more general scribal milieu.

³³ See also Michalowski 2011 for instances of such in CKU.

students the story of Enmerkara and the Lord of Aratta “may have carried additional meanings, as they would recognize their own power as writers and readers for nobles and kings, many of whom were illiterate, and needed them for access to written communication.”³⁴

Furthermore, it is during the Old Babylonian period that letters first become literature. Indeed, it is at this time that a separate type, the letter of petition, developed. Thus, creativity is expressed not only in the form of creative writing as seen in the original composition of one-off letters but also in the creation of a new type. In this way, then, letter writing became the medium in which Old Babylonian scholars could show off their erudition.³⁵

It is clear, then, that epistolary composition was an ideal exercise. First, the ideology expressed through SEpM 1–9 reinforced the institutional message, but, as was the case in Late Babylonian education, did so in a different and so more engaging manner. Second, through first person narrative letters provided an insight into the minds of Nippur elites, thus contributing a part of Nippur’s legacy to Sumerian cultural heritage. Finally, letters allowed for creative expression. They are a short familiar genre that lent themselves to ad hoc composition in a way that other types of literature did not.

It is unclear why the use of the epistolary form was much more limited in later times, so that the large body of letters dealing with all manner of topics, as attested in OB, shrinks to a much smaller collection of primarily royal letters. Michalowski noted “[i]t is ironic, and perhaps not coincidental that once epistolary communication becomes commonplace, the literary equivalents begin their eclipse.”³⁶ However, letters were already an established part of Old Babylonian society and as already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it may well be the case that letters were as much a part of daily life in earlier periods and we are only lacking the evidence.

It is not surprising that more of the OB letters themselves did not survive. The themes they treated lacked the timelessness of stories of Gilgamesh or some of the other Sumerian myths, such as those of

³⁴ Michalowski 2011.

³⁵ In fact, the letter of petition seems to have been “the only non-ritual Sumerian genre that evolved and grew in Old Babylonian times” as seen, for instance, in the letters of petition composed under the Larsa kings (Michalowski 2011). Michalowski argues further that “[r]oyal hymns and various prayers were still composed at this time, but most of the texts that were copied originated much earlier” (Ibid.).

³⁶ Michalowski 2011.

Ninurta (e.g. Lugale, Angim) which would have survived due to the importance of Ninurta in the Assyrian cult.³⁷ Why some OB texts survived as “academic rarities” (e.g. EnlSud, EnkNinm) while so many others did not, requires further study.³⁸

More curious is why the genre as a whole is so poorly represented in later periods. Is this just the result of more rigid control over the curriculum that left little room for the creative expression seen in OB Nippur? Or was it a deeper question of aesthetic?

We may never be able to answer this, but, as I’ve demonstrated above, the answer to the the question of why letters is clear. While letters served in later periods as a new means to teach an old lesson—and certainly did so in OB schools as well—we see in particular that in OB Nippur letters played an important role in scribal self-representation. The epistolary format gave the Old Babylonian scholars a place in which to preserve their own voice, their memories and their contribution to the Sumerian cultural heritage.

At this point, it is important to ask, did communicating this heritage and preserving the voice of these scribes serve a purpose outside the academy? This is of course linked to a larger question about the curriculum, did Sumerian scribal training give power to an elite group of administrative scribes? If so, then how was this power manifested, and to what end? In other words, would training in Sumerian have given scribes any real control in society apart from an inflated sense of self-importance? While these students may very well have gone on to be court poets and high ranking administrative officials, perhaps in some instances even royal advisors, at this point, we have no explicit evidence. Until we have the documentation to trace the careers of Sumerian school graduates, we cannot answer these questions.³⁹ We can, however, reach a different conclusion.

³⁷ The version of SEpM 22 that survived did so because of its universal appeal while the other letters are more specific to late 3rd / early 2nd millennium Nippur and would have lost meaning outside that time.

³⁸ Veldhuis 2000a, 82.

³⁹ There are several instances where we know the identity of the owners of the houses where scribal education occurred, and, where the professions of these individuals are identifiable, they are all religious in nature. For instance, the owner of No. 7 Quiet Street at Ur, was Ku-Ningal, an *abriqqum* priest (Charpin 1986, 432–3). At Sippar-Amnanum, the school tablets come from Ur-Utu, *gala-mah* priest of the goddess Annunitum (Tanret 2002). Notably, nothing in the context of the tablets themselves, at least at first glance, is any different from the groupings elsewhere. Thus, we have no way of knowing whether priestly and scholarly duties were inextricably

As we have seen, letters were the best medium through which scribes could communicate their own voice. Indeed, through the creation of letters of petition as well as the inclusion of letters relating to scribal affairs, letters are the only indicator of the personalities and creativity of the Old Babylonian Sumerian scribal masters, and perhaps some of their students as well if they were indeed the composers of the one-off letters. Thus, letters gave authors long-lasting power by allowing them a medium within which to create and preserve their own social memory.

On an even broader scale, the teacher's ability to choose his curriculum gave him an additional level of power. As I concluded in Chapter 4, there is no evidence for an established curricular order during the advanced phases of Old Babylonian Sumerian scribal school, but instead, flexibility on the part of the instructor. Although by the later OB period, the corpus of Sumerian literature as a whole was largely fixed, and so displays little evidence for active textual editing, teachers did have control in determining which would be taught and so preserved. The best evidence that this choice actually happened is of course that different texts are popular in different cities, and even in different school houses within cities. However, until we can determine who benefited from this elite acculturation, and to what end, we cannot discern the extent to which this power manifested itself outside of the scribal milieu.⁴⁰

In conclusion, the unifying feature of SEpM is its Nippur centrism and this is not surprising given that SEpM is an entirely Nippur construct, and likely the product of just a few schools. But literary letters and evidence for the continued expansion of this genre are found throughout southern Babylonia. Clearly Old Babylonian teachers recognized the potential of the letter for creative expression and experimentation and capitalized on it. Ultimately, when the Nippur school teachers introduced letters as part of their curriculum, they were leaving a record of themselves, and the culture in which they were raised, but also they were just having fun.

linked, nor do we know if the students were similarly tracked for the priesthood. For a complete summary of the contexts of OB literary tablets see Delnero 2006, 35ff.

⁴⁰ This discussion stems in large part from Haines-Eitzen's (2000) notion of textual (re-)production among early Christian scribes.

CHAPTER SIX

EDITIONS

6.1 *Introductory Remarks*

Editions of all twenty-two SEpM compositions and all ANL letters, to whose manuscripts I had access, are published below. In most cases these include an eclectic text, translation, commentary. Textual matrices are published in an appendix. Eclectic lines follow the Nippur versions when possible, but occasionally are dependent on non-Nippur sources. Transliteration follows the conventions of the ePSD, and translations follow the school of thought advocated by Black and Veldhuis “that translations of Sumerian literary texts should be readable, doing justice to the modern language in which the text is transposed.”¹

An eclectic text, matrices and translations of SEpM 1 and 1a are provided courtesy of Piotr Michalowski. For complete editions of these texts, the reader is referred to Michalowski 2011.² An eclectic text, translation and score are provided for SEpM 9. For commentary the reader is directed to the recent edition of Michalowski 2006.

I chose not to cite every instance in which I agreed or disagreed with Ali’s original edition (1964) of the majority of the letters, but I am indebted to his pioneering efforts in making this corpus available. Likewise, I have benefited from ETCSL’s on-line publication of the Sumerian literary letter corpus. I am grateful that I have had access to many new sources which were not available to Ali or the ETCSL contributors. A concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964 is included before each score.

I was able to collate the majority of the manuscripts. Those I was unable to collate, but read only from photographs or hand copies, are

¹ Veldhuis 2004, 117.

² Michalowski chose to divide the texts as such because SEpM 1 and 1a traditionally are associated with CKU. However, an edition of SEpM would be incomplete without them, especially as SEpM 1 may have originally been composed for SEpM (see Ch. 2.2.1).

marked in the manuscript chart with an (x) after their numbers.³ In general, I had access to all tablets housed in the Ashmolean Museum, the British Museum, the Hilprecht Sammlung at the University of Jena, the University Museum of Philadelphia, and the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin. In addition, I was able to collate all the previously published tablets in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum (siglum Ni). Konrad Volk collated the Schøyen Collection tablets on my behalf.

Finally, I have not included copies or pictures in this edition. The reason for this is two-fold. First, many of the tablets are already published, or will soon be available on line through the Cuneiform Digital Library (cdli) project to digitize the University Museum collection at the University of Pennsylvania. Second, those that are not published, in many cases, were tablets to which I also did not have access. In other cases, even if I did have access to collate the tablets, I was not given permission to publish copies or photos.

6.2 *Colophons*

Colophons are scribal devices that can identify the copyist, the composition, the type of tablet (e.g. im-gíd-da), the number of lines of text, the date and the location where the tablet was written. They are added to the tablet in the blank space after the double line ruling signaling the end of the text(s). Several SEpM tablets contain colophons identifying the copyist. Some add the date and the number of lines. Unfortunately such marks are too few and far between for us to draw any conclusions as to why only these particular tablets were signed.

One unusual colophon (Ur8) also contains a partial Akkadian summary of the Sumerian letter (SEpM 18). A second (N69), re-writes the catchline to SEpM 2 in the blank space, following SEpM 1 (the primary composition on the tablet). Notably, when written a second time the text is upside-down, and was inscribed after the clay was already partially dry. Moreover, the handwriting seems to be different, notable

³ These texts are all the more important because neither Ali or ETCSL was aware or had access to them. I was unable to read N3 (3N-T109), N71 (Ni 4508x), N72 (Ni 4586), N78 (Ni 9704), N113 (Ni 935), Nv1 (K 20167), X25 (YBC 16550) and X26 (cited in Hallo 1968, 88) from a copy or photo. Thanks to S. Tinney who confirmed that Nv1 is likely OB (personal communication 2010).

especially in the lugal and ù signs. Although this is not a colophon in the traditional sense, I highlight it here due to its unusual nature, at least in this corpus.

Compilations

N76 (after SEpM 22)

[...] ù-na-dug₄

N85 (after SEpM 16)

[...] ù-na-dug₄

SEpM 2

N69

lugal-ĝá ù-na-dug₄

Say to my king:

SEpM 6

Uk1

^{im}li-gi₄-in ì-lí-i-din-nam dumu /x\

šid-bi 13

u₄-29-kam

single column tablet of Ili-iddinam, son of X

total lines: 13

(written on): day 29

Uk2

^{im} [l]i-g[i₄]-in /i\-lí-i-din-nam

/šid\-[b]i 13

u₄ 20[+n?-kam]

single column tablet of Ili-iddinam

total lines: 13

(written on): day 20[+n]

X1

(written upside down on bottom of reverse)

[x?]-/x\~x-x-x

X21

im-ĝíd-da ì-lí-APIN

u₄ 13-kam iti! še-kin
mu gu-za nesaĝ-ĝá

single column tablet of Ili-APIN
(written on): day 13, month 12
Samsu-iluna year 5⁴

SEpM 17

N59
^{md}utu-an-dùl

Šamaš-andul

More is written in the blank space on the reverse, which is not legible and may be no more than doodling. The personal name is written again on the bottom edge. Šamaš-andul is also the copyist of N67 (SEpM 18). Unfortunately there is no date to indicate the order in which he learned these compositions.

SEpM 18

N66
^dutu-an-dùl

Šamaš-andul

Name written on bottom edge.

N91
^men-AŠ-ì-lí-MAH

Name written on top edge.

Ur8

im-gíd-da ^dnanna-me-ša₄⁵
na-zi-iq-ka uš-ta-mi-ta-an-ni
qú-lum i-na áš!-ri-ia uš-te-si-ra-an-ni
už-na-a-ia i-ba-áš-ša!-ku-um-ma
aq-ta-na-al

⁴ Horsnell 1999, 183ff.

⁵ Ludwig 2009, 170 reads: ^dnanna me-<a>-túm.

Single column tablet of Nanna-meša
 Your whining kills me,
 the silence keeps me fenced in my place.
 I will pay attention to you
 and keep quiet⁶

ANL 6

X26

im-gíd-[da d]EN.ZU-ú-se-li
 iti kin- dinanna u4-10-kam

single column tablet of Suen-useli
 (written on): month 6 (of the Ur III Nippur calendar), day 10

6.3 *Akkadian Glosses and Translations*

Only two SEpM manuscripts insert Akkadian glosses. Ur2 provides Akkadian glosses for SEpM 18 and Uk2 contains them for SEpM 6. It is of interest to note the loss of mimation already in the Uruk text, as the majority of Uruk tablets with glosses preserve mimation. In general for the OB period, the loss of mimation only appears after Hammurabi (GAG §63 d.). This may suggest that at least some of the texts found in the so-called *Scherbenloch* are later than the administrative texts found with them, which date between Rim-Sin 32 and Rim-Sin 43.⁷

Notably, as we have seen (Ch. 6.2), Ur8 contains an Akkadian version of a few lines of SEpM 18 in the colophon, although it does not provide interlinear glosses. Added as an afterthought once the clay had already begun to dry, they were not so much a translation but a paraphrase.⁸

Ur2 and Ur8 were found in the same house (No. 1 Broad St.⁹) together with another unusual composition, UET 7 94, which is a commentary to SEpM 18, translating into Akkadian some of the Sumerian terms.¹⁰ Based on their association in the same house, together with

⁶ Published by Civil 2009, 67. Collated by Ludwig 2009, 170.

⁷ Cavigneaux 1996, 2.

⁸ Michalowski 2010, 196.

⁹ Michalowski 2010, 196.

¹⁰ Civil 2009, 66–67.

other Sumero-Akkadian bilinguals, Michalowski argues convincingly that “this may be symptomatic of the requirements of one idiosyncratic or eccentric teacher, but it may also be a rare written manifestation of everyday oral practices in many Old Babylonian teaching establishments.”¹¹

¹¹ Michalowski 2010, 196.

6.4 Editions

SEPM 1 *Abba'indasa to Šulgi 1 (B1, CKU 4, 3.1.21)*Piotr Michalowski¹²

Fully Reconstructed Ideal Text

1. lugal-ĝu₁₀-ra ù-na-a-dug₄
2. máš hur-saĝ-ĝá á sa₆-sa₆-ĝá
3. anše kur hur-saĝ-ĝá umbin hu-rí-in^{mušen}-na
4. ^{ĝis}nimbar ki sikil-e mú-a zú-lum^{na4}-za-gìn lá-ĝu₁₀-úr
5. ù-na-dè-tah
6. ^ma-ba-in-da-sá ugula erin₂¹³ ka kešda
7. saĝ-ki zalag lugal-la-na-šè šà lugal-a-ni-ir du₁₀-du₁₀-ge-ra
8. arad₂-zu na-ab-bé-a
9. ì-kala-ga lugal-ĝu₁₀ ga-ab-ús¹⁴
10. igi-tuku igi-zu-šè ga-ĝen
11. inim-ma-zu ra-gaba-zu hé-me-en
12. a gub-ba-àm a mu-da-ak-e
12. tumu gub-ba-àm še mu-un-da-lá-a
14. ^{ĝis}má gub-ba-àm ^{ĝis}gi-sal mu-un-sì-ge
15. dub-sar me-en na-rú-a ab-sar-e
16. inim ugnim-ma mu-da-...]
17. inim pu-úh-ru-um-ma šu-ba e₁₁-dè-bi mu-un-da-sì-ge
18. ^{ĝis}gin₇ tir-ĝá mu-un-dù-ù-nam mu-dur₇-re im-gam-me-en
19. ^{ĝis}gu-za-ĝá lú mu-un-da-lá-a šu-ĝu₁₀ ešé im-ma-lá
20. iri-ĝá túg dân-na mi-ni-mu₄-ra túg mu-sír-ra ba-mu₄
21. lag-e a mi-ni-íb-tu₅-tu₅-a sahar igi-ĝá ba-e-gub
22. ur-e ad₆ íb-gu₇ gaba-bi íb-zi-zi-i
23. ušumgal-e saĝ ^{ĝis}um-mi-íb-ra-ra ka-ta-tak₄ íb-tuku
24. ^{ĝis}gi-izi ub-gu₇ niĝin₅ ì-tuk-tuku
25. ^utu ia₃ un-gu₇ ga-ará un-gu₇ ^{ĝis}banšur ukú-ra-šè šu-ni íb-ši-in-tùm
26. zi-ĝu₁₀ ba-e-i šu-ĝu₁₀ ha-za-ab

¹² Transliteration and translation quoted verbatim from Michalowski 2011. My thanks to Michalowski for allowing me to publish these texts. Some readings changed for consistency.

¹³ Var.: àga-ús.

¹⁴ Vars.: kala-ga-me-en lugal-ĝu₁₀ ga-ab-ús; kala-ga-me-en àga-ús-zu hé-me-en.

27. *dumu nu-mu-un-kuš-me-en lú èn-tar-re la-ba-an-tuku*
 28. *ġá-àm me-na-àm¹⁵ ša dšul-gi lugal-ġá ki-bi ha-ma-ġi₄-ġi₄*
 29. *lugal-ġu₁₀ èn-ġu₁₀ hé-tar-re ki daġal-ġu₁₀-šè hé-em-mi-ib-ġi₄-ġi₄*

⁽¹⁾Say to my king, ⁽²⁾to my mountain goat, fair of limb, ⁽³⁾eagle-clawed highland horse, ⁽⁴⁾to my date palm growing in a sacred place, laden with glistening dates, ⁽⁵⁾say moreover: ^(6/8)Saying (the words of) Abaindasa, officer of the armed forces, ⁽⁷⁾who, (to obtain) his master's favor, is a constant delight to his master's heart:

⁽⁹⁾Being strong, I want to follow my king, ¹⁶ ⁽¹⁰⁾having vision, I want to go in your vanguard, ⁽¹¹⁾at your command please let me be your messenger! ⁽¹²⁾Even when water is still, I can make water flow; ⁽¹³⁾even when the wind is still, I can winnow grain; ⁽¹⁴⁾even when the boat is still, I can row! ⁽¹⁵⁾I am a (trained) scribe—I can inscribe a stele! ⁽¹⁶⁾I can... the orders of the army. ⁽¹⁷⁾The orders of the assembly... ⁽¹⁸⁾As if I were planting a tree in my own woodlot, I kneel in the dirt; ⁽¹⁹⁾as if someone had managed to tie me to my own chair, my hands are tied with rope; ⁽²⁰⁾in my own city, where I used to dress in fine clothing, I am forced to wear dirty rags; ⁽²¹⁾forced to wash in clods of dirt, there is dirt on my face. ⁽²²⁾A beast devours cadavers, but then retreats, ⁽²³⁾even after the king of beasts makes a kill, he slackens his jaw; ¹⁷ ⁽²⁴⁾even after the canebrake is consumed by fire, the pond remains (intact), ¹⁸ ⁽²⁵⁾and even Utu, after consuming (offerings of) ghee and cheese, still reaches out to (accept offerings from) a pauper's table;

⁽²⁶⁾(But now) my life hangs by a thread; please take my hand! ⁽²⁷⁾I am a widow's son; I have no one to show concern for me. ⁽²⁸⁾Ah, but me—when will Šulgi, my king, restore me to my position? ⁽²⁹⁾May my king show his concern for me and restore me to my prosperous position!

¹⁵ No two manuscripts agree on the first two words of the line.

¹⁶ Vars.: I am strong, I want to follow my king; I am strong, so let me be your soldier.

¹⁷ Var: it spares some remains.

¹⁸ Var.: it spares some ponds.

SEpM 1a *Aradmu to Šulgi 3 (CKU 7, 3.1.5)*
Piotr Michalowski¹⁹

1. lugal-ĝu₁₀-ra ù-na-dug₄
2. arad₂-mu arad₂-zu na-ab-bé-a
3. ^ma-ba-in-da-sá ugula eren₂ zú-kešda lugal níĝ lugal-ĝu₁₀ ma-an-gi₄
4. lugal-ĝu₁₀ bar inim-ma ha-ba-zu-zu
5. u₄ zi-mu-dar^{ki}-ra-šè igi-ĝu₁₀ bí-in-ĝar-ra
6. kaskal lugal-ĝu₁₀ erin₂ zi-ga-ĝu₁₀
7. ^ma-ba-in-da-sá erin₂-bi igi ù-bí-in-kár
8. min li-mu-um erin₂-bi nu-ĝál
9. x x-ne nu-un-DU nu-un-gi₄
10. ha-ra-kalag lugal-ĝu₁₀ mu-un-taka₄ mu-un-dab₅
11. NIR-da-bi NIR-da lugal-ĝu₁₀ [ba-e]-dugud
12. [...]ma lugal? [...]x
13. [...]x ni x[...]ĝar
14. níĝ lugal-ĝu₁₀ ab-bé-na-ĝu₁₀
15. lugal-ĝu₁₀ hé-en-zu

⁽¹⁾Say to my king, ⁽²⁾thus says Aradmu, your servant:

⁽³⁾(Concerning the matter of) Abaindasa, captain of the royal army, that my king sent me (a message) about; ⁽⁴⁾my king must be informed about the matter.

⁽⁵⁾When I focused my attention on Zimudar, ⁽⁶⁾I was in the process of mustering troops for my king's expedition, ⁽⁷⁾but when Abaindasa inspected those troops, ⁽⁸⁾2000 of those men were missing. ⁽⁹⁾He had not gone to..., nor had he returned. ⁽¹⁰⁾He had abandoned the fortress, *o my king, and then (re)captured (it)!* ⁽¹¹⁾That crime was a very serious crime against my king! ⁽¹²⁻¹³⁾...

⁽¹⁴⁾Whatever you, my king order me to do, (I will do)! ⁽¹⁵⁾This my king should know!

¹⁹ Transliteration and translation quoted verbatim from Michalowski 2011. Some readings changed for consistency.

SEpM 2. *Sîn-tillati to Iddin-Dagan* (B2, 3.2.1)

1. lugal-ĝá ù-na-dug₄
2. ^{md}sîn-tillati ra-bi sí-kà-tum-ma
3. arad-zu na-ab-bé-a
4. ka-ku-la-tum^{ki}-šè gaba-ri gíd-da-ĝu₁₀-ne
5. mar-tu ĝ^{is}tukul-bi-da šubtu₅-ta im-ma-zig
6. ĝe₂₆-e zi-ga-ĝu₁₀-ne 600 [i]-gaz 1200 ì-dab₅
7. ka-ku-la-tum^{ki}-šè ba-ni-kur₉
8. tukum-bi lugal-ĝu₁₀ ugnim-ma tuš-ù-bi ab-bé
9. ^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá keše₂-da-bi šu hé-mi-ib-da₁₃-da₁₃
10. tukum-bi lugal-ĝu₁₀ ugnim-ma nu-tuš-ù-bi ab-bé
11. hé-em-ma-su₈-ge-eš
12. lugal-ĝu₁₀ hé-en-zu

⁽¹⁾Say to my king, ⁽²⁻³⁾thus says Sîn-tillati, the frontier commander, your servant:

⁽⁴⁾When I went upstream to Kakkulatum, ⁽⁵⁾the armed Amurru ambushed (us). ⁽⁶⁾When I (counter) attacked, I slaughtered 600 (of them), captured 1200 (and) ⁽⁷⁾brought (the captives) into Kakkulatum.

⁽⁸⁾If my king commands (the captives) to camp among the army, ⁽⁹⁾let him send provisions for them. ⁽¹⁰⁾If my king does not order them to camp among the army, ⁽¹¹⁾he should put them into service (elsewhere).

⁽¹²⁾This my king should know.

Commentary

1. -ĝá in place of -ĝu₁₀-ra/ur (see also SEpM 4:1) is a neologism attested from Ur III but especially in OB.

2. The precise meaning of the title *rabi sikkatim* is uncertain. Stol 2004, 666f. argues that *sikkatum* here refers to the peg by which gates opened and closed. In particular, he references an OB omen (YOS 10 45:16) suggesting that this officer was originally in charge of the city gates: “the *rabi sikkatim* will open the city gate and...allow the enemy to enter the city.” By extension, then, the *rabi sikkatim* in our text would have been in charge of the gates of the land, i.e. the periphery. That Sîn-tillati was charged with defending the borders certainly fits with the contents of this letter.

4. For Kakkulatum, a city located on the Zubi canal in the Diyala, at the southernmost point of access from the Tigris to the Euphrates, see Durand 2000, 362f. For further references see also Röllig 1976–1980, 288f.; Frayne 1992, 45; Heimpel 2003, 614.
5. *šbtu*₅(KASKAL.TÚL)—and variants—is rare, used in Sumerian to describe an ambush in reference to persons (e.g. DuDr 45; CKU 20: 12) or a lair in reference to animals (e.g. IdD D 17). See Alster 1972, 99 with references. For the lexical attestations see CAD Š/III 172.
8. The variant in X16 (*lugal-ĝá ugnim-bi*) makes use of the anticipatory genitive, understanding the line as “If the troops of my king are commanded to camp” (and again in l. 10). For a parallel construction see Zólyomi 1996: 34 ex. 10.
9. For ^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá *keše*₂-da, “tied leather bags,” used to designate provisions for travelers, see Heimpel 2009, 310.
11. Three manuscripts (N2, N40, N88) have *su*₈-ge, the plural stem of *gub*, while the other two (N35, N78) have *su-bé*, plural of *ĝen*. The intention of this line is that the captives are to be sent elsewhere. My translation is based on the common use of *gub/izuzzu*, “to stand (in service).” While *ĝen* is not normally used in this way, *alāku* can mean “to serve, do service,” and is used in OB texts in reference to soldiers (CAD A/I mng. 3c. p. 309).

SEpM 3. Iddin-Dagan to Sîn-tillati (B3, 3.2.2)

1. ^{md}sîn-tillati ra-bi-sí-kà-tum-ma
2. ù-na-dug₄
3. ^di-din-^dda-gan lugal-zu na-ab-bé-a
4. kaskal-ĝu₁₀ ní-tuku saĝ ĝi₄-a gú íd-da 2-a-bi mu-da-ab-bal-e
5. ka-ku-la-tum gaba-ri gíd-da-zu-ù-ne
6. ^dlamma ^dda-gan ^dkab-ta ù ^den-líl-le-ke₄ erin₂-na gú bí-ri²⁰
7. me-lám-ĝu₁₀ kalam-ma ba-e-dul
8. ù za-e nam-ur-saĝ nam-kala-ga-zu²¹ kur-bi-šè ba-e-te
9. lú-kúr dab₅-ba ba-e-da-an-kur₉
10. erin₂ lú-a iri-ta è-a-ba
11. ugnim-ma igi im-mi-in-du₁₁-ga²²
12. lú-dab₅-ne-ne en-nu-ùĝ ĝá-ĝá-da
13. a-ga-aš ĝi₄-bi hé-ni-in-du₈
14. ku₄-ku₄ è-dè kíĝ bar ha-ra-ak-ne
15. lugal mu-tuku-ne-ne ^{ĝi}sukul erin₂-na
16. ka-ĝiri₃-za lah₅-àm
17. ugnim-zu nam-ba-lá-e²³
18. ul₄-la-bi ĝá-nam-ma
19. a-ma-ru-kam

⁽²⁾Say ⁽¹⁾to Sîn-tillati, the frontier commander, ⁽³⁾thus says Iddin-Dagan, your king:

⁽⁴⁾Thanks to you, my expeditionary force can (now) cross from one bank of the river to another. inspiring fear and causing a blockade.

⁽⁵⁾When you went upstream to Kakkulatam, ⁽⁶⁾(the gods) Lamma, Dagan, Kabta (and) Enlil caused the (enemy) troops to submit.²⁴ ⁽⁷⁾My splendor covers the homeland, ⁽⁸⁾while you approached the enemy land with your heroism and your strength.²⁵ ⁽⁹⁾You have been able to make prisoners of the enemy.

²⁰ Var (X8): ^dlamma ^dda-gan ^dkab-ta erin₂-bi saĝ-bi-šè sá íb-dug₄-ga.

²¹ Var (X8): ù za-e nam-kala-ga-ĝá-zu nam-ur-saĝ-ĝá-zu kur-bi-šè ba-e-te.

²² Var (X3): ugnim-bi šu-za sá-dè Var (N88): ug[nim ...] sá-dè-/zu\.

²³ Var (Ur11, X8): ugnim(-bi) te-a nam-ba-lá-e.

²⁴ Var (X8): Lamma, Dagan and Kabta took possession of all these troops.

²⁵ Var (X8): and you, who knows my strength and heroism, approached the enemy land.

⁽¹⁰⁾After (that) man's troops have left the city, ⁽¹¹⁾once you have inspected the army, ⁽¹²⁻¹³⁾then let go of the lowest (ranking) in order to safeguard their (other) prisoners.²⁶ ⁽¹⁴⁾Let those who enter and leave (the city) work!

⁽¹⁵⁻¹⁶⁾Their famous kings and armed forces were brought in your path, ⁽¹⁷⁾do not diminish your army!²⁷ ⁽¹⁸⁾Come quickly! ⁽¹⁹⁾It is urgent!

Commentary

Unfortunately the surfaces of the two tablets (N90, X8) that preserve the majority of this text are very worn. While I had access to N90, I was able to read X8 only from photographs taken under poor conditions. Moreover, in ll. 5–11, for which N90 and X8 are the only sources, each text seems to have its own version. The eclectic text primarily follows N90 except in ll. 10–16, which are broken in the Nippur manuscript.

4. saĝ—gi₄, “to block,” is well attested (Falkenstein 1964, 54; Civil 1964, 4; Karahashi 2000, 136f., Schramm 2001, 67; van Dijk and Geller 2003, 100; Hermann 2010, 230). The ability to cross both banks of the river must imply that Iddin-Dagan's forces control the whole river. The reason for X8's omission of this line is unclear.

5. Compare SEpM 2:4.

6. gú—ri, literally, “to bend the neck” is elsewhere unattested as a synonym of the more common expressions signifying the act of submission, gú ĝál or gú ĝar.

11. igi—dug₄ in the sense of igi—du₈ is attested in Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1993, 178 l. 20 and Farber and Farber 2003, 102 ll 18 (?) and iii 6'. Attinger (personal communication) suggested the reading šu-za sá-dè (N88, X3) for šu-za sá <di->dè, perhaps the result of haplography. For šu sá—dug₄ see Attinger 1993, 640.

²⁶ Var ll. 11–13 (N88, X3): Release the lowest (ranking) of their army that you took hold of. (*Note X3 omits line 12).

²⁷ Var (Ur11, X8): Approach their army, do not tarry!

12–14. The idea being there were too many prisoners to effectively guard them all, and so the lowest ranking were allowed to enter and leave the city for work.

13. Compare SP 2.42, Dialogue 2:95 and Dialogue 3:9 for a-ga-aš gi₄, an insult among scribes (Alster 1997, 364).

14. kîg bar(-ra) is attested in Ur III administrative documents (e.g. MVN 21 132:4; TENS 24:2f.; UTAMI 3 1935:2) with the verb gub, and seems to involve a type of work associated with earthworks (Attinger, personal communication).

16. ka-ĝiri₃ is an unusual word in Sumerian literature, attested elsewhere only in In.šag 118, Lu-diĝira 5, InstrŠur 16, Michalowski 1981, 388:1. In these instances, it is always used literally to refer to a physical path. Elsewhere, it is attested in Ur III documents (e.g. HLC 148; MVN 6 547), and in the personal name ^dinana-ka-ĝiri₃-^dšu-suen (Salaberger 1993 103 w/n. 458; Such-Gutiérrez 2003 191f. w/n. 803). See also Gregoire 1975; Turner 1981, 101, 467 n. 25. For the use of the term in early OB Isin see van de Mieroop 187, 142 and BIN 10 p. 31.

17. “Do not diminish your army,” in the sense “do not let your army down.” Alternatively, “do not alter (the course/the assignment) of your army.” For lá used in the sense of bala compare CKU 14:27.

18. For ĝá-nam-ma, “come!,” see e.g. Wilcke 1969, 172; Cohen 1973, 298; Krecher 1978, 39f.

SEpM 4. Nanna-ki'aĝ to Lipit-Ištar (B4, 3.2.3)

1. lugal-ĝá ù-na-dug₄
2. ^{md}nanna-ki-aĝ ra-bi sí-kà-tum-ma
3. arad-zu na-ab-bé-a
4. é-dana^{ki} lugal-ĝu₁₀ ba-an-da-bal
5. šà é-dana^{ki}-šè 6 me-at ugnim gu-un-gu-nu-um
6. ^{ma}at-ta-ma-an-nu-um ba-ni-in-kur₉
7. ugnim-bi iri saĝ-an-na libir-ra-šè ku₄-ku₄-dè la-ba-šum₂
8. iri^{ki} gibil-àm al-dúr-ru-ne-eš
9. ugnim-bi gú íd-amar-^dsuen-ka-ta
10. šeg₁₂ dù-ù-dè du-un-nu-um^{ki} ak-dè
11. ù íd ba-al-e-dè ba-ĝen
12. tukum-bi lugal-ĝu₁₀ NIM ^{ĝis}pan ^{ĝis}gag-pan
13. ^{ĝis}má tur-tur šu-ku₆-bi-šè
14. ^{kuš}a-ĝá-lá keše₂-da-bi ^{ĝis}tukul ^{ĝis}[...]
15. á mè nu-um-ta-è
16. ugnim-bi gú íd-amar-[^dsuen-ka]-ta
17. šeg₁₂ ba-dù-e [du-un-nu-um ba-ak]-e ù íd al-ba-al-e
18. lugal-ĝu₁₀ nam-ba-e-šè-ba-e-dè
19. a-ma-ru-kam

(1) Say to my king, (2-3) thus says Nanna-ki'aĝ, the frontier commander, your servant:

(4) Edana has turned against my king. (6) Atta-mannum brought (5) a 600 (man) army of Gungunum into Edana. (7) (But) I prevented that army from entering the old upper city. (8) So they camped in the new city.

(9-11) That army (of Gungunum) came from the bank of the Amar-Suena canal in order to build brick(works), fortify Dunnum and dig a canal. (12-15) If my king does not issue NIM-weapons, bows, arrows, small boats including their fishermen (and) their provisions, weapons (and)...—the arms of battle—(16) that army from the bank of the Amar-Suena canal (17) will continue building with brick(works), fortifying Dunnum and digging canals. (18) May my king not be negligent! (19) It is urgent!

Commentary

4. For the reading of the name Edana see Michalowski 1989, 89f. Frayne 1992, 33f. places the site along the Iturungal canal, the main

connection between the Tigris and Euphrates (see the map in Adams 1972, 36 fig. 17).

5. *ugnim* is almost never preceded by a number (but note CKU 20:33). Here the idea must be 600 men and not 600 armies.

6. The name, *Atta-mannum*, literally “who are you?,” is otherwise unattested, although names beginning with the element *atta* or the interrogative *mannu* both occur (Stamm 1939, 129f., 237ff.). Here the name seems to be a scribal joke, perhaps deliberately intended as an insult.

7. For *sâg-an-na* qualifying the upper part of a field see Civil 1994, 125. In a Nippur forerunner to Hh XX–XXII, this is contrasted with *a-ša-ambar-murub*₄, “middle of the field at the swamp” and *a-ša-ambar-ki-ta*, “lower side of the field at the swamp” (OB Nippur forerunner to Hh XX–XXII 113–115 = MSL 17, 100).

That X8 omits ll. 7 and 8 is best explained as an error of haplography, since l. 9 begins the same as l. 7. Uri’s omission of l. 7, but not l. 8, is less clear but may reflect an alternate interpretation of this passage.

8. Although it is tempting to read *iri ki gibil*, “new lower city,” in contrast with “old upper city” in l. 7 this is unlikely given SEpM 5:11. Moreover, when *iri*^{ki} *gibil* is listed among the cities in the OB forerunner 5 iii 10’ to Hh XX–XXIV (MSL 11 139), it is followed by the entry for *iri libir* making it unlikely that *ki* was anything but a determinative. That the determinative is present in l. 8 and not in l. 7 may indicate the scribe’s familiarity with the lexical tradition.

9. While Frayne 1997, 240ff. drew the Amar-Suena canal as connecting the western branch of the Euphrates to the central, or Iturungal, branch, Steinkeller 1991, 57 n. 142 demonstrates that this cannot have been the case, although a canal of such name did lie in the Umma province.

10. It is unclear whether *du-un-nu-um ak-dè* refers to the fortification of a specific city or to the construction of fortifications in general. Frayne 1992, 32 considered that the construction of the site of Dunnum was an anachronistic reference to Gungunum Year 22, in which Gungunum is said to have built Dunnum and the Išartum canal. Frayne 1992, 31 identifies Dunnum with the city of Dulli/Dunni-edin situated

on the Iturungal canal slightly east of Nippur.²⁸ The manuscript tradition shows that individual students (or their teachers) interpreted the line differently; N78 clearly marks du-un-nu-um with the geographical determinative ki, while X8 does not.²⁹

12. In the context of ll. 12–14—a list of supplies qualified in l. 15 as á mè, “arms of battle”—NIM should be a type of weapon. Alternatively this could refer to a weapon preferred by Elamite soldiers as N75 implies. While weapons are not elsewhere specified as being of an ethnic group, note the ethnic qualification of an agricultural tool in e.g. YOS 2 17:10 (Stol 1981, 12). For ^{gis}pan ^{gis}gag-pan see Civil 2003, 50ff. On weapons in general see Schrakamp in preparation and also 2009a; 2009b, 2009–10, 2010a, 2010b.

15. á mè, literally “arm of battle” occurs as an epithet of a specific weapon in a number of Sumerian literary texts (e.g. Angim 144, LSUr 383, Lugalbanda II 406). The term is unattested in administrative texts.

18. This line may be intentionally disrespectful given that SEpM 4–5 are supposed to exemplify a failed relationship between ruler and ruled (Ch. 2.2.1). For še-bé-d(a) / še-ba-e-d(a) see Falkenstein 1957, 162; Cavigneaux 1976, 42; Maul 1988, 445; Sjöberg 1998, 356.

²⁸ ANL 3 may provide further clues as to the location of Dunnum. According to l. 3, the city of Dunnum lay on the bank of the Amar-Suena canal. Since Steinkeller has shown that Frayne’s placement of this canal is not correct (see above 1.9), if this letter is to be believed, his placement of Dunnum would also be faulty. However, while it is likely that SEpM 4 and ANL 3—both of which place the city of Dunnum in the vicinity of the Amar-Suena canal—are talking about the same site, this need not have been the case. A number of other cities by the name of Dunnum are known from Old Babylonian period, although all are located much further to the north-west (Heimpel 2003, 608; Charpin 2004, 358 n. 1868).

²⁹ In Ur1 while the beginning of the KI is clear, it is unclear what follows. It may have been that the KI was to be read /ke/. For the writing ke of the verb ak in non-finite *marú* forms in OB literary texts see Attinger 2005, 62. Note in particular that his references are from Ur. This writing is also attested elsewhere in the SEpM corpus, see for instance SEpM 18:15.

SEpM 5. Lipit-Ištar to Nanna-ki'aĝ (B5, 3.2.4)

1. ^{md}nanna-ki-áĝ ra-bi-sí-kà-tum-ma
2. ù-na-dug₄
3. ^mli-pí-it-eš₄-tár lugal-zu na-ab-bé-a
4. mu erin₂ lú-kúr-ra-ke₄ lugal ù-na-dug₄ šu mu-e-taka₄³⁰
5. ^mat-tá-ma-nu-um lú lugal-a-ni-ir bí-in-sa₆-ge
6. dirig-zu-šè arad lugal-a-ni-ir na-nam
7. a-na-aš-àm ĝe₂₆-e <<ù>> nu-zu-ĝu₁₀-ta za-e šu ĝar lugal-zu li-bí-in-ĝi₄³¹
8. á-še 2 li-mu-um erin₂ lú ^{ĝis}sukur
9. 2 li-mu-um erin₂ lú ^{ĝis}pan
10. 2 li-mu-um erin₂ lú dur₁₀-tab-ba im-mu-e-ši-sar
11. lú-kúr iri-gibil-a al-dúr-ru-ne-eš
12. ki-tuš-bi-ta sar-bí-ib
13. kíĝ-šè šu ì-ĝar-re-ne nam-bí-še-ga
14. iri dili-dili zag-ba zag-za en-nu-ùĝ-bi ak-ab
15. iri-bi šu-zu-ta la-ba-ra-è
16. nam-lú-ulu₃-zu ĝar-bí-ib
17. a-ma-ru-kam

(2)Say (1)to Nanna-ki'aĝ, the frontier commander, (3)thus says Lipit-Ištar, your king:

(4)I, the king, sent you a letter about the enemy troops.³² (5)Atta-man-num is someone doing well by his king. (6)He is a better servant to his king than you! (7)Why is it that without me knowing it you have not been obliging your king?³³

(10)Now, I am sending you post-haste (8)2000 spearmen, (9)2000 bowmen (and) (10)2000 axe-men. (11)The enemy is camped in the new city—(12) chase them from their positions! (13)They are still carrying out the work, so it is the case that you have not obeyed (me!).

³⁰ Var (X5): mu lú-kúr-ra-ke₄ ù-bí-zu szu bí-[ta]ka₄-a.

³¹ Var (X5) has instead:

7A. a-na-aš-àm erin₂ šu šà-šè ì-ĝál-a-ĝ[á] nam-lú-ulu₃-ba li-bí-ĝar.

7B. ne-eš erin₂ mu-un-ĝá-ĝá-e.

³² Var (X5): I sent word after you informed me about the troops.

³³ Var X5: ^{7A}Why is it that the troops there that are under my authority have not been stationed among the people? ^{7B}Now he (= Atta-mannum) is stationing (his) troops there!"

⁽¹⁴⁾Put guards on all the individual cities from their border up to yours.

⁽¹⁵⁾Do not let that city out of your grasp! ⁽¹⁶⁾Set your soldiers there! ⁽¹⁷⁾It is urgent!

Commentary

7A & B. The scribe of X5 replaced l. 7 with two additional lines, perhaps indicating his confusion with it. In so doing, however, he altered the stress of the letter. In the Nippur recension l. 7 only reinforces Nanna-ki'aĝ's general incompetence. In X5 the additional lines emphasize what it is that Nanna-ki'aĝ failed to do, namely infiltrating the general populace with his own men. The Nippur version alludes to this only in l. 16.

7A. Here šà-šè is best understood as the Akkadian expression *ana/ina libbi*, “therefore, therein, therefrom.” This solution is difficult and it is tempting to amend the text to read šu zu!(ŠÀ)-šè in light of CKU 20:37:

ù za-e erin₂ šu-zu-ta i-ĝál-la

“and as for you, with the soldiers who are under your authority (get the trench dug!)”

For adverbial expressions inserted between a verbal root and its nominal component see e.g. Karahashi 2000, 37.

10. The dur₁₀-tab-ba is an ax with a normal blade on one side and between three to five spikes on the other (Alster 2004, 30; for its identification in archaeological contexts see Civil 1987b, 22f.). It is associated with fishermen/hunters in both literary and administrative texts. For example, in InGd, Inana's fisherman/hunter uses the ax to kill Gudam. Lugalbanda II 146 compares the power of Lugalbanda's arrows to the dur₁₀, a knife used to kill fish. In the Mari text ARM 1 31:37 fishermen deployed as soldiers are sent out with their axes. In ARMT 23 384:3, bronze ingots are designated for fishermen's axes. Given Nanna-ki'aĝ request for fishermen's boats in SEpM 4:13, the battle-axers in this line may have been fishermen. Although the army promised in ll. 8–10 seems large, the number is likely stylized to counter Attamanum's army of 600 in SEpM 4. (Compare also the size of armies mobilized in the Mari archives, Abrahams 1992. See also the references listed in Heimel 2003, 599ff. However, while troops in the Mari texts are tabulated by city of origin they are never sub-categorized by weapon of expertise).

Elsewhere, in Sumerian literary texts, *sar* normally has the meaning “to run” and occurs primarily in the context of running or chasing away (e.g. Lugalbanda II 48, LSUr 86). The nuance intended here, however, best fits the meaning of *hummuṣu* and *šuhmuṣu*, “to send quickly, promptly,” attested in OB and said of particularly of troops in Amarna; CAD H, 62f.). Alternatively, *sar* may be from *šaṭāru*, “to assign,” used in OB letters for assigning soldiers to military service (CAD Š/II, 237f.).

The verbal prefix *im-mu-e-ši-* is rare in Sumerian literature, but attested in OBG T VII (MSL 4 88ff.) In OBG T VII *-e-ši-* is used for second person singular ventive suffixes *-kum* and *-akkum*, to indicate direction “towards you” with verbs of motion (Black 1984, 20f.). For *im-ma-* going to *-im-mu-* before *-e-ši-* see Black 1984, 24.

11. A reference to SEpM 4:8 in which Nanna-ki’aĝ informed Lipit-Ištar that Atta-mannum’s army is camped in the new part of Edana.

13. ll. 10 and 12 use the verb *sar* with clearly different meanings, and ll. 7 and 13 do likewise with the verb *šu ĝar*. Perhaps one of the purposes of this exercise was for students to practice using the same vocabulary in varied contexts. According to Civil (2005, 35) *na-* in the second verbal chain should be negative of the deontic, indicating negative advice. Contextually, however, the prefix must be the negative epistemic.

SEpM 6. Ur-saga to a King (B6, 3.3.1)

1. lugal gud igi gùn sum₄ ^{na4}za-gìn lá-ġu₁₀-úr
2. ù-na-a-dug₄ ³⁴
3. alan kù-sig₁₇ u₄ du₁₀-ga dú-da³⁵
4. áb-za-za amaš kù-ga buluġ₃-ġá šà kù ^dinana-ke₄ pàd-da³⁶
5. en nir-ġál ^dinana-ġu₁₀-úr ù-na-dè-tah
6. za-e dím-ma-zu dumu an-na-me-en³⁷
7. dug₄-ga-zu inim diġir-ra-gin₇ hur nu-ġi₄-ġi₄-dam³⁸
8. inim-zu im an-ta šġġ-ġe₂₆-gin₇ šid nu-du₁₂-du₁₂-dam
9. ^mur-sa₆-ga arad-zu na-ab-bé-a
10. lugal-ġu₁₀ bar-ġá èn li-bí-in-tar³⁹ dumu uri₂^{ki}-ma-me-en
11. tukum-bi lugal-ġá an-na-dùġ
12. é ad-da-ġá lú nam-ba-an-tùm
13. ki-úr é ad-da-ġá lú nam-mu-da-an-kar-re
14. lugal-ġu₁₀ hé-en-zu

⁽²⁾Say ⁽¹⁾to my king, the sparkling-eyed bull who wears a lapis beard⁴⁰:

⁽⁵⁾Repeat to ⁽³⁾the golden statue, born on a favorable day,⁴¹ ⁽⁴⁾zebu reared in the divine sheepfold, chosen by the shining heart of Inana, ⁽⁵⁾my lord, the trusted of Inana:

⁽⁶⁾By your form, you are the child of An. ⁽⁷⁾Your command, like the words of a god, is irrevocable.⁴² ⁽⁸⁾Your words, like raindrops that fall from the sky, are uncountable.

⁽⁹⁾Thus says Ur-saga, your servant:

⁽¹⁰⁾My king has not investigated my case (but) I am a citizen of Ur!⁴³

⁽¹¹⁾If it is satisfying to my king, ⁽¹²⁾then let no one make off with my father's estate. ⁽¹³⁾Let no one forcibly take away the foundation of my father's estate. ⁽¹⁴⁾This my lord should know!

³⁴ Uk2 gloss: *a-na šar-ri ša ki al-pi šī-it-ha-ri qī-bi-ma*.

³⁵ Uk2 gloss: *ša-lam_x(LUM) hu-ra-ši i-nu-mi ša-bu UD.DA*.

³⁶ Uk 2 gloss: *wa-tu*.

³⁷ Uk2 gloss: *[x?] wa /x\ [x] /ma? \-ra-ni*.

³⁸ Uk2 gloss: *hu-ur la ta-ar*.

Var (Ur4): *dug₄-ga-zu inim diġir-ra kur-kur nu-g[i₄-ġi₄-dam]*.

³⁹ Var (N87, Ur4, Uk1, U2): *èn bí-in-tar*.

⁴⁰ Uk2 gloss: Say to my king who is like a sparkling-eyed bull.

⁴¹ Uk2 gloss: statue of gold, born on a favorable day.

⁴² Var (Ur4): You command is the word of a god, all the lands cannot reverse it.

⁴³ Var (N87, Ur4, Uk1, U2): Has my king investigated my case? I am a citizen of Ur!

Commentary

1. For the reading sum_4 for $\text{su}_6(\text{KA}^*\text{SA})$ cf. Proto-Ea 319 (MSL 14, 44) which lists $\text{sú-um: KA}^*\text{SA}$. That Utu is the king to whom Ur-saga appeals is almost certain given that elsewhere in the Sumerian literary corpus, $\text{sum}_4^{\text{na}4}\text{za-gìn lá}$ is used primarily in reference to him.⁴⁴

4. Elsewhere in the Sumerian literary corpus the áb-za-za is attested only twice: in the list of animals that Inana supplies for the city of Akkad at the beginning of CA 21f. and the list of animals Enlil brings to Sud as wedding gifts in EnlSud 108. This animal occurs several times in Ur III administrative sources as well, for instance in a list of offerings of bulls, sheep and deer (AnOr 7 no. 154) and once as an object made of lapis (UET 3 415). For the identification of áb-za-za see most recently Attinger 2009, 140, who identifies the creature as a wild buffalo.

The term amaš is normally reserved for a sheepfold, in contrast to the $(\acute{\text{e}})\text{-tùr}$, “cattle pen” (e.g. IšD.J 21–22; EnmEns 209). While gazelles (e.g. DuDr 234, 238, 239) and goats (e.g. EnmEns 185) are elsewhere attested living in an amaš kù-ga , to find a bovine dwelling in an amaš of any type is uncommon.⁴⁵

The translation of pàd-da with *wa-tu* instead of *nabû*, is perhaps surprising. Although *atû* is attested in the sense of divine selection, the references listed in CAD A/II 519f. and Seux 1967, 368f. are all from the first millennium. In contrast, *nabû* is attested in OB royal inscriptions (CAD N/I 36; Seux 1967, 175).

The omission of this line in three (of nine) manuscripts was perhaps the result of haplography.

⁴⁴ See the references collected in Sjöberg & Bergmann 1969, 87; Polonsky 2002, 209–213. Of course it is also possible that Ur-saga was addressing the king of Ur. For references to Ur-Namma, Šulgi and Šu-Suen adorning the lapis beard in ritual contexts cf. Polonsky 2002, 516–17. In such instances the beard served to equate the king with the sun god, emphasizing his role in justice (Ibid., 518–19).

The epithet gud igi gùn is attested elsewhere only in reference to Nergal (STVC 73, 5; Heimpel 1968, 145). Given the plea for justice that this letter contains, however, it is most likely that Utu—or a king acting in the capacity of the sun god as the administrator of justice—was the intended recipient. Note, however, that the reference to Angim in l. 6 invokes Nergal. The ambiguity may have been deliberate.

⁴⁵ Note, however, the $\text{balaĝ lamentation am-e amaš-a-na}$, “the bull in his fold” (cf. Cohen 1988, 152ff.), although the incipit is not preserved in the OB manuscript.

5. The form ^dinana-ke₄ in X9 indicates the scribe did not understand the meaning of the line within the context of the text as a whole, although it is technically correct in isolation.
6. This line is perhaps a reference to the opening line to Angim, an <-gin₇> dí-ma dumu ^den-líl-lá, “created like An, O son of Enlil.”
7. For hur + negation, “never,” see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2000, 37.
8. The choice to read ĜÁ as ĝá or ĝe₂₆ is problematic. Volk argues that the forms B-a-gin₇ and B-e-gin₇ are not interchangeable.⁴⁶ The choice to read ĝe₂₆ here emphasizes the continual action.⁴⁷ The reading du₁₂-du₁₂ for TUKU.TUKU is established by OB Diri Nippur 49–53, 53a, which gives both translations *ahāzu* and *rašú*. The orthographic variant dù-dù in X9 confirms this.
10. As is frequently the case in the Sumerian epistolary corpus, bar èn tar is best understood in the sense of Akkadian *arkatu parāsu*, “to take care of (person or situation),” used primarily in OB letters, or “to investigate (a judicial or political matter)” (see further Michalowski 2011, commentary to CKU 5 l. 27/29). Alternation between a negative (èn li-bí-in-tar) and a positive (èn bí-in-tar) as a rhetorical question, intended sarcastically, is not uncommon (e.g. CKU 2:29).
11. tukum-bi...an-na-dùg, “if it is satisfying for him” adhere to the expected Akkadian expression with *ṭabu* (CAD ~ 34ff; Civil 1994, 182 and 2005a, 247; Böck 1996, 10). As in Uk2, the expression is normally with an-na-kam, “(if) it is a ‘yes’ for him.”

⁴⁶ The only instance where the forms R-a-gin₇ and R-e-gin₇ alternate in different manuscripts of the same line appears to be in ELA 270, where lá-lá-a-gin₇ occurs as a variant for lá-lá-e-gin₇. Here, however, the variant—*a*—is clearly influenced by concerns of vowel harmony.

⁴⁷ The variant in X9, šc-ĜÁ-NE-gin₇, is particularly problematic. Here ĜÁ must be read ĝe₂₆ as a form B-ade is never attested. B-ede, however, “in order to X,” does not fit the context. Assuming an original form B-eda in which a shifted to e under the influence of the e vowel in the root, is also problematic as it is not clear what the locative -a would represent. As such, this variant seems to indicate that the scribe did not understand the Sumerian and perhaps conflated the participial form with the pronominal conjugation.

SEpM 7. Lugal-šú to a king (B7, 3.3.2)

1. lugal zalag-ga-ni iti₆-gin₇ kur-kur-ra pa è-a ù-na-dug₄
2. lugal ^dutu-gin₇ di si sá ku₅-ku₅-dè eš-bar ^dištaran-gin₇ si sá-sá-e-ra
3. lugal šùd-dè ġiš tuku-ġu₁₀-úr ù-na-dè-tah
4. ^mlugal-šú⁴⁸ dumu nibru^{ki} arad₂-zu na-ab-bé-a
5. udu-gin₇ ka ú gu₇-ġu₁₀ mu-e-pàd naġa dúb-ba i-ni-til
6. gu₄ ^{ġis}šudul₄-a nu-ub-ha-za lá-gin₇ edin-na ba-ab-ġen-ne-en
7. áb amar-bi nu-ub-da-lá-a-gin₇ ġù arhuš-a im-me
8. u₈ sila₄-bi é-ubur-ra dab₅-ba-gin₇ šu ba-ab-dab₅-bé
9. mušen-gin₇ ġùd-ġá lú šu ba-ni-in-ti
10. ^{ġis}má kar ġi-na-a li-bí-ib-tak₄-a-gin₇⁴⁹ tum₉-e ba-ab-dirig-ge-en
11. i-si-iš sila nibru^{ki}-ka mu-gu₇-e-en
12. iri kúr iri-ġá mu-da-an-kur₉ lú èn tar-re la-ba-tuku
13. é kúr é-ġá mu-da-an-kur₉ ugu-ġá-aš ba-ab-du₂₄(DUN)
14. iri-ġá saġ-gin₇ kug la-ba-ni-de₆ siki saġ mu-dur₇ ba-lá
15. gu₅-li du₁₀-sa zu-a kal-la-ġu₁₀
16. lú dili gu₇-ù-gin₇ igi tur mu-gíd-eš
17. ama ugu-ġu₁₀ u₄-sakar ubur-ra-bi
18. dūg-ge-eš ga-ġu₁₀ gu₇-ġu₁₀ ka-ġu₁₀-ta ba-an-kar
19. a-a-ġu₁₀ šà úr-bi-ta ġùr-ġùr-ru-a ki-ta ba-an-ġar-re-en
20. nin arhuš-a-ġu₁₀ é-bi ba-kal igi nu-mu-ši-bar-re
21. ġiš hul gurun nu-íl-la-gin₇ lú na-ma-ši-húl-le
22. ^{ġis}gibil-^{ġis}gibil-me-en ^{ġis}isimu₂^{sar} nu-tuku-me-en ur₅-re nam-ba-tùm
23. lugal-ġu₁₀ èn-ġu₁₀ hé-tar-re ki-ùr-ġu₁₀-šè hé-em-mi-ib-ġi₄-ġi₄

⁽¹⁾Say to the king whose brilliance shines forth like the moon over all the lands: ⁽³⁾Repeat ⁽²⁾to the king who renders just verdicts like Utu, effecting decisions like Ištaran. ⁽³⁾to my king who hears prayers: ⁽⁴⁾Thus says Lugal-šu,⁵⁰ citizen of Nippur, your servant:

⁽⁵⁾Like a sheep, grazing became my lot,⁵¹ (and) I finished by rubbing (myself) down. ⁽⁶⁾Like an ox bound to a yoke it cannot support, I have been sent to the desert. ⁽⁷⁾Like a cow whose calf is not by her side,⁵² I

⁴⁸ Var (N13): ^mlugal-nesaġ-e.

⁴⁹ Var (X2): ^{ġis}má ġi-na-a li-bí-ib-kar-a.

⁵⁰ Var (N13): Lugal-nesaġe.

⁵¹ Lit: "My mouth eating grass like a sheep appeared to me."

⁵² Lit: "like a cow whose calf is not tied next to her."

cry plaintively. ⁽⁸⁾Like a ewe whose lamb is seized in the feeding-pen, (my) hands are tied. ⁽⁹⁾Like a bird, I was snatched in my nest. ⁽¹⁰⁾Like a boat that did not *take refuge* at a stable dock,⁵³ the wind has cast me adrift.

⁽¹¹⁾In the streets of Nippur, sorrow consumed me. ⁽¹²⁾A foreign city has entered into my city. I had no protector. ⁽¹³⁾A foreign house has entered into my house. It exercised authority over me. ⁽¹⁴⁾In my city, like a slave, I did not carry silver. Dirty hair hung (from my) head.⁵⁴

⁽¹⁵⁾My friends, companions, acquaintances and dear ones ⁽¹⁶⁾looked contemptuously at me like (at) a man who eats alone. ⁽¹⁷⁾My birth mother, whose breasts are (like?) crescents, ⁽¹⁸⁾took my consumption of milk from my mouth (as I sat) in (her) lap. ⁽¹⁹⁾My father, who raised me in his lap, cast me away.

⁽²⁰⁾My merciful lady—her temple is precious!—no longer notices me.

⁽²¹⁾Like a bad tree which has born no fruit, no one rejoices over me. ⁽²²⁾I am a shoot with no off-shoots, thus I do not want to be carried off!

⁽²³⁾May my king consider my case and return me to my rightful position!

Commentary

1. While the image of shining like the moon light (*iti₆-gin₇ è*) is common, it is not otherwise attested with the compound verb *pa è nor* is the moonlight ever said to shine over the *kur-kur*. As *iti₆-gin₇ è* is applied to numerous deities (e.g. Nergal, Inana) it is unclear to whom this epithet here refers.

2. The first epithet—*utu-gin₇ di si sá kud-kud-dè*—is attested in OB royal hymnology (*Šu-ilišu* A 30, *IšD A+V* 226, *Ur-Ninurta* A 35). The second—*eš-bar dīštaran-gin₇ si sá-sá-e-ra*—is more unusual. *eš-bar* occurs with the verb *si sá* only in one Rim-Sin royal inscription (*Rim-Sin* I 135 = *RIME* 4.2.14.17) and in two lamentations (*CLAM* 98:54,

⁵³ Lit: “like a boat that was not held back (*tak₄*) at a stable dock.”

Var (X2): “a boat not firmly secured (*kar*).”

⁵⁴ Lit: “In my city, I do not go around like (someone) free of claims. The hair of (my) dirty head is hanging down.”

Alternate: “In my city, I go around unclean like a slave...”

350:54). Although Ištaran is never said to make an eš-bar, compare Gudea Cyl. A Col. X ll. 24–26:

é-bar₆-bar₆ ki á-âg-ge₂₆-gá
 ki ^dutu-gin₇ dalla-a-gá
 ki-ba ^dištaran-gin₇ di iri-gá si ba-ni-ib-sa-e

“In the Ebarbar, the place where I issue orders,
 the place where I shine like Utu
 I justly decide, like Ištaran, the lawsuits of my city.”

3. The epithet šùd-dè gîš tuku is well attested in OB royal inscriptions and hymns, in reference to various deities including e.g. Suen, Nuska, and the goddess Ninibgal.

4. See 2.4.1 for discussion of Lugal-šu and the variant Lugal-nesaĝe.

5–12. Ll. 5 to 12 contain similes used to illustrate the sender’s unfortunate circumstances. Ll. 5–11 draw on animal imagery to describe a person who has lost his way while l. 12 is that of a ship cast adrift. Such images are expected (see Black 1998, 157 who demonstrates that almost one-third of the imagery used in Lugalbanda II comes from the animal world; while seven percent—the third largest category of image types in Lugalbanda II—are of boats). If the images themselves are not unusual, the verbs used with them are. Moreover, there does not seem to be a discernible reason for the choice between *hamtu* or *marû* forms.

5. udu-gin₇ ka ú gu₇, “like sheep eating grass” is a common topos in Sumerian literary texts (see the examples collected by Heimpel 1968, 223f.), used for instance to describe the primeval conditions in which humans lived before the gods created sheep and grain (EG 24, HGCS 1). In SEpM 7, the sender is shocked to find that he has reverted to the behavior of his primitive ancestors. The figurative use of *pàd* is paralleled only in SEpM 8:9. In both instances, -e- is the first person singular locative (Attinger, personal communication; see also Attinger 1999; 2000) rendering a literal translation “it appeared to me.”

naĝa dúb, “to rub with soap” (Attinger 1993, 621 §656; Alster 2005a, 67), is fitting here as it applies primarily to animals (e.g. SP 2+6 79 and 5 14). Although unprecedented in this context, the reading of the final verb as *tîl* is favored by the variant *tîl* in X12.

6. The image of an ox under a yoke also occurs in UrN C 10, which Flückiger-Hawker (1999, 221) interprets as an image “of a single bull straining because bulls are usually yoked in pairs.”

7. For the common motif of a mother animal who has lost its young, attested as early as a Lugalzagesi royal inscription (SAK 154 II 43–45) see Heimpel 1968, 183; Tinney 1996, 144 (comm. l. 68). For *gù dug*₄, often said of animals, see the discussion in Attinger 1993, 526ff. Note in particular the frequent use of the infix *-m-* with this verb to focus attention on the object or occasion that is causing the subject to cry out (Ibid. 531 §458; Woods 2008, 198f.). While *gù* is often modified by an adverb, it does not occur elsewhere with *arhuš*. For the adverbial marker—a see Attinger 1993, 169 §105c.

8. Although there is no direct parallel for this image, the following passages are comparable: LSUr 301, LUr 66, SP 3.116, YOS 11 70 ii 23'. For the common use of ewes and lambs together else in Sumerian metaphorical language see Heimpel 1968, 232ff (14.6–14.10; 15). The *é-ubur* is a purely literary term, unattested in Ur III administrative documents. For *šu dab*₅, in the sense of “paralyzed hands,” see Alster 2007, 107. While this interpretation makes the best sense contextually—i.e. Lugal-šu is powerless to stop what is befalling him, like a captive animal whose young is taken from it—the variant *šu-ni* (N14, N85) is difficult to explain.

9. For the syntax of this line see Heimpel 1968, 39f. Parallel sentiment is described in TCL 16, 46:4–5 (Heimpel 1968, 385 ex. 57.10).

For *šu-ba-ni-in-ti* in comparative sense see e.g. DuDr 60 & 62 (sources O, J¹, R¹; see Attinger 2009c for sigla) and SP 5.72B.

10. For *ba- + dirig* see Woods 2008, 252f. The image of a boat cast adrift occurs in DUN 182.

11–19. Note that the complaints in this passage are made in the perfect, marked explicitly in l. 16 (*mu-gíd-eš*) and l. 19 (*ba-an-ġar-re-en*).

11. While *i-si-iš* is both a manifestation of joy and sorrow, the second meaning was obviously intended here (see further the discussion in Jaques 2006 163, 165). For *i-si-iš gu*₇ see Jaques 2006, 372 w/n 796. While the lack of an ergative marker on *i-si-iš* and the variant in N76 argue in favor of a translation “sorrow in the streets of Nippur consumed me,” the sense would be problematic.

12. Here *lú èn tar* is used as Akkadian *pāqīdu*, “protector,” in place of the more common *sag èn tar*.

13. For *é kúr* compare LUr 291, 295. DUN in the sense of “to be/put under the authority of” follows a suggestion of Attinger (personal

communication) with reference to Cavigneaux 2006, 19 w/n. 28 (“to enter or be in a relationship with someone”), and the term *lú-DUN-a*, “subordinate” (Attinger 2003, 31; Maiocchi 2009, 239). Literally, then, “it had a relationship against me.”⁵⁵ The variant *du₁₁* in X12 supports the reading *du₂₄* (DUN) suggested by Civil 2010, 163.

14. For *siki saĝ*, “head hair” cf. InDesc 235 and DI T 14. For *siki lá*, as a description of wearing one’s hair loose or hanging see RS B 8 and DI C 11. For uncleanness as a description of suffering compare CKU 5 ll. 20f.:

iri-ĝá túg dàn-na mi-ni-dúr-ra túg mu-dur₇-ra ba-mu₄
lag-e a mi-ni-ib-tu₅-tu₅-a sahar igi-ĝá ba-e-gub

“In my own city, where I used to dwell in fine clothing, I am forced to wear dirty rags. Forced to wash in clods of dirt, there is dirt on my face.”⁵⁶

For unclean hair in particular see Sag B 97 (MSL SS 1, 31): *sag-siki mu-dur₇* = *ma-lu-lú*. The reading *dur₇* is now assured by the variant /mu\du-ra in InDesc 341 (MS 3282, courtesy K. Volk).

15. In other words, “everyone.” Compare SEpM 19:15.

16. The idea is reminiscent of that from the Akkadian story of the Poor Man of Nippur ll. 17–20, in which the protagonist is afraid to slaughter a goat in his yard without provisions to feed his neighbors, lest they see him eating alone and (falsely) accuse him of greed.

17, 19, and 20. The possessive suffix *-bi-* in these lines should be *-ni-*. Confusion of the person/non-person pronouns occurs also in the pronominal prefixes in ll. 12–13 and ll. 19 and 23.

17. To my knowledge there are no parallels for the image of crescent-shaped breasts, although DI P Seg. B l. 21 compares Inana’s vulva to a crescent moon. Theoretically ll. 16 through 20 should go together: my friends did this, my mother did that, and my father did that. The qualification of the mother’s breasts here in l. 17 is a poignant intensifier of the complaint that follows.

18. Although *du₁₀* could be an adverb, “my contented consumption of milk,” beginning a line in this way is unusual. As such, it seems that

⁵⁵ Although *ugu-ĝá-aš* for *ugu-ĝu₁₀-šè* is rare, it is not unattested (Attinger, personal communication).

⁵⁶ Translation following Michałowski 2011.

du₁₀-ge-eš is not the adverb “well” but the noun du₁₀, “knee.” While du₁₀, “knee,” is normally attested with a /b/ auslaut, there are a number of cases in which final /b/ and /g/ alternate (Civil 1973, 60f.). That the lap was the location the child was placed in order to suckle see Volk 2004, 84 n. 80. This solution requires some reconstruction, but the image contrasts well with that of l. 20.

20. arhuš is not otherwise attested qualifying nin, although plenty of goddess are said to be merciful (Inana, Ninmah, Nungal).

The sufferer’s complaint has thus far been expressed in the perfect tense, yet with l. 20 the complaints switch to imperfect forms. The variant ending—en in N47 can be explained by -en in place of -e 3rd sg. in *maru* forms (Attinger 1993, 112 §41).

21. Other instances of ġiš hul in Sumerian literature are uncertain, although the passage in ŠB 57 seems to refer to a specific type of plant. The tree is unattested in the lexical tradition. Here, at least in part, ġiš hul must have been chosen to pun with húl. For -ma-ši-húl see Warad-Sin 27.46. Here the terminative refers to the misfortunes referred to in the preceding lines (Jaques 2006, 320).

22. The normal image is positive: a seed with sprouts is one that is fertile (e.g. Keš Hymn 58L). In this line, however, the image is of a tree from which nothing grows, implying that the sufferer has no descendants. The semantic distinction between gibil and isimu, both of which are glossed as *pi’ru*, is unclear (Veldhuis 1997, 152). For /na/ as a negative cohortative see Attinger 1993, 290f.; Civil 2005b: 35.

23. ki-mu-še ġi₄ is expected. For ki-ùr in the sense of social status or position note the use of Akkadian *išdu*.

SEpM 8. Lugal-nesaê to a King (B8, 3.3.3)

1. lugal ^dutu-gin₇ šà kalam-ma mu-un-zalag-ga
2. ù-na-dug₄
3. i-^dutu ab-sín íb-ta-an-zi-ga
4. tí-id-nu-um^{ki}-e šu bí-in-êar⁵⁷ šibir-bi mu-un-dab₃-ba
5. lugal idim-bi-šè ab-šid-dè-a
6. ù-na-dè-tah
7. ^mlugal-nesaê-e dumu nibru^{ki} arad₂-zu na-ab-bé-a
8. sul-a-lum nu-zu-êu₁₀ saê-ki ba-gíd
9. til₄ ak-êu₁₀ mu-e-pàd
10. iri kúr-ra tum₁₂^{mušen}-gin₇ še mi-ni-ša₄
11. šà-ne-ša₄ la-ba-an-tuku
12. ur-gin₇ ki gurun-ma nu-zu šu dag-dag-ge ba-si
13. mušen šu súr-dù^{mušen}-ta dal-a-gin₇ ur₅-da ì-ak-en
14. ^{gš} kir₆ a nu-dug₄-ga-gin₇ asil₃-lá-êu₁₀ háb-ba ba-an-ug₅
15. igi-lá é lugal-êá-ke₄ íb-si-ge i₅-êar gig ma-lá
16. zarah-àm ur-gin₇ [...]
17. ù-u₈-a-u₈ [...]
18. gud-gin₇ mur-êu₁₀ eme ba-šub₆ nu-tuku-gin₇ šu ì-ša-an-ša
19. peš amar-êu₁₀ gùd-bi zi ba-ni-in-gi₄ ka ú gu₇ ba-peš
20. edin KAL tumu ri-a-ta AŠ bad-rá-gin₇ é HAR-HAR-ra ba-dab₃-bé
21. ug₅-ga ki nu-túm-ma-me-en še-gin₇ àr-[àr...] ⁵⁸
22. šeš-êu₁₀ lú kúr nu-me-a igi tur mu-un-gíd
23. [...] gú ki-šè ba-lá
24. sa₆-ga-êu₁₀ hul-šè mu-da-an-sig₁₀
25. lugal KA /x x\ bala-êu₁₀ ^dutu-gin₇ ha-ma-dirig

(²)Say (¹)to the king who brightens the heart of the homeland like Utu.

(⁶)Repeat to the one (³)who removed oppression from the furrows, (⁴)who caused Tidnum to submit,⁵⁹ who seized their (royal) staff, (⁵)the one counted as their important king. (⁷)Thus says Lugal-nesaê, citizen of Nippur, your servant:

(⁸)My inexplicable punishment makes me glower. (⁹)Wailing in distress became my lot. (¹⁰)In a city that has become hostile I have been moaning

⁵⁷ Var (N20): šu bí-in-dab₃.

⁵⁸ Var (K11): ug₅-gin₇ ki túm-túm-mu nu-zu še-gin₇ àr-[...].

⁵⁹ Var (N20): “who defeated Tidnum.”

like a dove, ⁽¹¹⁾(but) no one took pity (on me).⁶⁰ ⁽¹²⁾I am filled with restlessness, like a dog that does not know a place to rest. ⁽¹³⁾I am on alert like a bird flying from the grasp of a falcon. ⁽¹⁴⁾Like a garden that has not been watered, my joy withers in fetid (decay).

⁽¹⁵⁾The glances (of those within) the palace of my king silenced me; a bad reputation has been attributed to me. ⁽¹⁶⁾...moaning...⁽¹⁷⁾...cries of woe...⁽¹⁸⁾Like an ox I licked my fodder (with my tongue), like a pauper I grasped about rapaciously. ⁽¹⁹⁾My young fledglings, dazed in their nest, opened wide their mouths to eat some food. ⁽²⁰⁾Gusty winds from the...desert, like..., seize me(?) in...

⁽²¹⁾Dead but unburied,⁶¹ I am ground up like grain,...⁽²²⁾My brother (even though) he is not a stranger looked at me contemptuously. ⁽²³⁾... I hung my neck downward. ⁽²⁴⁾My good has been made evil.

⁽²⁵⁾May the...king, like Utu, make my *appeal* successful!

Commentary

1. The use of eme-sal ša-ab for šà in N67 is unclear. That the king in question was perhaps Enlil-bani see Marchesi 2006b, 18 n. 69.

3. For i-^dutu see Cooper 1983, 31; Attinger 1993, 564f; Edzard 2003, 169. The line compares with PBS 5, 74 vi 22–vii 6 (Frayne 1990, 87–90), a royal inscription of Enlil-bani (Marchesi 2006b, 18 n. 69).

4. The use of GÌR.GÌR as a logogram for Tidnum in OB texts is discussed by Steinkeller 1992, 262ff; Marchesi 2006b, 124. This text can now be added to his list of attestations (Ibid., 263 n. 60). Outside of the CKU, Tidnum as the enemy occurs only in LN 231; LSUr 256, 488; Šulgi U 25 (and see most recently Marchesi 2006b, 9–26). Note also the use of kur GÌR.GÌR occurs as a variant of lu₅-lu₅-bi in InEb27. For the locative-terminative nominal suffix -e used to mark the second subject of a causative verb see Attinger 1993, 198 §129b: Zólyomi 1999: 242.

The translation of šu ġar here is implied by context. Marchesi (2006b, 18 n. 69) translates literally “to set the hand to.” šibir dab₅ as a symbol of royal authority occurs also in Sin-iddinam E 13, Rim-Sin C 22 and Samsu-iluna C 5.

⁶⁰ Alternative: “But no one accepted my supplication.”

⁶¹ Var (K1); “like a dead person who has not experienced burial.

5. *idim* is not a common word in Sumerian literature, although it occurs modifying a range of subjects, e.g. Enlil (EWO 199), Enlil's word (Enlil A 143, 144), waves (Hendursaĝ A 28), Lipit-Ištar's name (Li C 5) as well as other deities (Ningišzida, Nuska, Gilgameš). *-bi* is here the collective referring to the land of Tidnum. For *šid*, "considered (lit: counted) as their important king," compare CA 154; DG 82f (Cavigneaux & al-Rawi 2000, N6 6'f., Meturan 121f.); Lugale 693.

7. See 2.4.1 for discussion of Lugal-nesaĝe and the variant Lugal-šu.

8. Sjöberg 1975, 226–7 collects the references for *sul-a-lum* and notes the variant translations with *ennittu*, "punishment" and *amu*, "sin." Punishment best fits the context.

9. The reading *til*₄ for AŠ is provided by Izi E i 230 (MSL 13, 191). This word is rare in Sumerian literature occurring only in In.šag 163 as one of Inana's many traits enumerated there. For *mu-e-pād* see SEpM 7:5.

10ff. Lines 10, 12, 13 and 14 use animal similes to illustrate the sender's unfortunate circumstances. This section parallels ll. 6–13 in SEpM 7 that draws heavily on animal imagery for the same purpose. These lines all make use of *hamtu* forms, in contrast to the parallel lines in SEpM 7, which alternate between *hamtu* and *marû*.

10. For *tum*₁₂^{mušen}, one of the most frequent bird names occurring in Sumerian literature especially associated with mourning and distress, see Veldhuis 2004, 289. In CA 219 doves are said to moan as an indication of the horrible fate that should befall Akkad.

12. *si*, "to fill," used figuratively for a person containing a particular trait, occurs also in a variant to Lu-diĝira 35:

gi³kiri₆ me-a (var: la-la) i-si-iš lá-lá-e (var: asil-lá si-a)

"She is a garden of delights (var: of plenty), full of laughter (var: filled with joy)"

In reference to objects filled with human emotions (e.g. sorrow, joy) see e.g. LUrak 42; UrN B 26.

13. The image of a falcon preying on smaller birds is common (Veldhuis 2004, 282). While *umbin* is perhaps the word expected for "claw," *šu* is used specifically in reference to a bird's claw also in Nungal A 50 and Home of the Fish C 2, 4.

14. For a dug₄ see Attinger 1993, 477–484; Civil 1994, 69. For similar imagery compare LSUr 50.

Three sources for this line (N20, N43, N76) add šu-ta. Plants are watered “by hand” also in WS 110, HT 174. Certainly it is deliberate that all the nouns of the second half of the line are written with box-shaped signs: asil₃ (EZEN*A), háb (LAGAB*U), ug₅ (EZEN*BAD).

15. I understand igi-lá as the noun “glances” and not as an abbreviation of igi-tum-lá, “envy” or the like. For igi-lá as its own lexeme see most recently Attinger 2005, 230; George 2009, 95. For i₅-gar see Geller 2003 123f.; Jaques 2006, 285 n. 591. A similar complaint is made in Ludlul I 80–81: “If I walk the street, ears are pricked; If I enter the palace, eyes blink” (Lambert 1996, 34f.).

18. eme šub₆ is attested in proverbs, but is always said of animals, e.g. dogs in SP 2 107, 117; SP 5.82. SP 2.117, in particular, was specifically intended as a metaphor for human behavior, as it is used as a direct insult in Edubba B 161 (Sjöberg 1973, 139f., Alster 1997, 373):

ur-gir₁₅ ġiš bîr-bi eme šub₆-bé

“the dog licks its shriveled penis (with its) tongue”

For said of lizards see e.g. Behrens 1998, 98 w/n. 171; Geller 2001, 235; Peterson 2007, 171, 264–8, 525. For šu ša-an-ša see Alster 1997, 420; Römer 2004, 160.

19. ġûd is used figuratively also in LN 215, 270. Although zi ġi₄ is normally “to be on good terms, to calm down.” It can also have a negative sense, “to be silent, stupefied” (Jaques 2006, 216 n. 467 and clear in LSUr 104, for which see Attinger 2009b). Here the baby birds would be sedated from hunger.

20. The sense of the line is unclear. dili-bad (-rá), “visible” (e.g. Man&God 114; Lugale 110) does not seem to fit the context. é HAR-HAR could either be a “mill” (é àra) or, literally, “a house of debt” (é ur₅-ur₅; for which see e.g. Krecher 1966, 219; Civil 1993, 74 n. 10, Alster 1997, 430; Römer 2004, 150). Note that in SP 13.51 é ur₅-ur₅ can also refer to a woman who is in debt (Alster 1997, 430).

21. The motif of the “un-buried” occurs elsewhere in the literary corpus (e.g. GEN 305–6) and in incantations referring to unburied ghosts (e.g. Ni 630 l. 106' = Geller 1985, 143). SP 28.9 gives us a clue as to one sin punished by depriving the perpetrator of burial:

lú digir-ra-a-ni nu-mu-un-kal-kal lú-bi ki nu-tùṁ

“If a man does not treasure his god, that man will not be buried.”

In MM 137f. the Amorites are mocked for not burying their dead:

ud ùl-la-na é nu-tuku-a

ud ba-ug₇-a-na ki nu-túṁ-mu-dam

“During his life he has no house and when he dies, he will not be buried.”

Alster 1987, 59 suggests restoring the end of the line following EG 155:

^{na4}šu-šè bar-za-a ár-ár mi-ni-in-ak

“as if it were pumice(?) it makes your body into flour”⁶²

25. Since Lugal-nesaê did not have a “reign” (bala), our line is surely a clever play on passages such as IšD A+V 84:

nam-lugal-la bala-êu₁₀ hé-bi-in-dirig

“he made my reign of kingship excellent.”

While X8 seems to read lugal du₁₁-ga-ke₄, such a descriptor is otherwise unknown.

⁶² Alster & Vanstiphout 1987.

SEpM 9. The Tumal Text (B9, 2.1.3)

1. en-me-barag-ge₄-e-si lugal-e
2. iri-na-nam é ^den-líl-lá in-dù
3. ag-ga dumu en-me-barag-ge₄-e-si-ke₄
4. tum-ma-al^{ki}-e pa bí-i-è
5. ^dnin-líl tum-ma-al^{ki}-šè in-túm
6. a-rá 1-a-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub
7. ^mmes-an-né-pà-da bur-šú-šú-a é ^den-líl-lá in-dù
8. ^mmes-ki-ág-nun-na dumu mes-an-né-pà-da-ke₄
9. tum-ma-al^{ki}-e pa bí-i-è
10. ^dnin-líl tum-ma-al^{ki}-šè in-túm
11. a-rá 2-a-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub
12. ^dbil₄-ga-mes-e du₆-numun₂-bur-ra barag ^den-líl-lá in-dù
13. ^mur-lugal dumu ^dbil₄-ga-mes-ke₄
14. tum-ma-al^{ki}-e pa bí-i-è
15. ^dnin-líl tum-ma-al^{ki}-šè in-túm
16. a-rá 3-a-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub
17. na-an-ni ^{giš}kiri₆ mah é ^den-líl-lá in-dù
18. ^mmes-ki-ág-^dnanna dumu na-an-ni-ke₄
19. tum-ma-al^{ki}-e pa bí-i-è
20. ^dnin-líl tum-ma-al^{ki}-šè in-túm
21. a-rá 4-a-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub
22. ^dur-^dnamma-ke₄ é-kur in-dù
23. ^dšul-gi dumu ^dur-^dnamma-ke₄
24. tum-ma-al^{ki}-e pa bí-i-è
25. ^dnin-líl tum-ma-al^{ki}-šè in-túm
26. a-rá 5-a-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub
27. mu ^damar-^dsuen-ka-ta
28. en-na mu ^di-bí-^dsuen lugal-e
29. en-am-gal-an-na en ^dinana unug^{ki}-ga máš-e in-pà-dè
30. ^dnin-líl tum-ma-al^{ki}-šè ì-DU-DU-en⁶³

⁶³ The reading of DU-DU here is very problematic. Michalowski (2006, 149) interpreted the -NE- in N41 and N48 as -dè-, a graphic variant of -de₆-, but this is unlikely given that de₆ is “to bring something” while túm is “to bring someone” (Sallaberger 2004), and indeed this is what our text consistently has throughout. Moreover, N41 easily could read DU]-DU-NE-en and N98 DU-DU]-NE-en. The reading túm-túm (-ne)-en, however, is equally problematic. Regardless, I believe the sense is clear. The reduplication would indicate that the leatherworker performed this action on numerous occasions (Jagersma 2010, 321).

31. inim lú-^dinana ašgab gal ^den-líl-lá-šè sar-ra

32. ^diš-bi-èr-ra é-kur-igi-ġál-la

33. éšutum ^den-líl-lá in-dù

⁽¹⁾En-me-barage-si, the king, ⁽²⁾built Iri-nanam, Enlil's abode. ⁽³⁾Agga, son of En-me-barage-si ⁽⁴⁾made Tumul resplendent ⁽⁵⁾(and) brought Ninlil into Tumul. ⁽⁶⁾Then Tumul was abandoned for the first time.

⁽⁷⁾Mes-Ane-pada built Buršušua, Enlil's abode. ⁽⁸⁾Mes-ki-aġ-nuna, son of Mes-Ane-pada ⁽⁹⁾made Tumul resplendent ⁽¹⁰⁾(and) brought Ninlil into Tumul. ⁽¹¹⁾Then Tumul was abandoned for the second time.

⁽¹²⁾Gilgameš built Du-numun-bura, Enlil's dais. ⁽¹³⁾Ur-lugal, son of Gilgameš, ⁽¹⁴⁾made Tumul resplendent ⁽¹⁵⁾(and) brought Ninlil into Tumul. ⁽¹⁶⁾Then Tumul was abandoned for the third time.

⁽¹⁷⁾Nani built the magnificent garden of Enlil's temple. ⁽¹⁸⁾Mes-ki-aġ-nana, son of Nani, ⁽¹⁹⁾made Tumul resplendent ⁽²⁰⁾(and) brought Ninlil into Tumul. ⁽²¹⁾Then Tumul was abandoned for the fourth time.

⁽²²⁾Ur-Nama built the Ekur. ⁽²³⁾Šulgi, son of Ur-Nama, ⁽²⁴⁾made the Tumul resplendent ⁽²⁵⁾(and) brought Ninlil into Tumul. ⁽²⁶⁾Then Tumul was abandoned for the fifth time.

⁽²⁷⁾From the years of Amar-Suen ⁽²⁸⁾until the year Ibbi-Suen, the king, ⁽²⁹⁾chose En-am-gal-ana by extispicy as the high priest of Inana of Unug (=Ibbi-Suen 4), ⁽³⁰⁾I brought Ninlil to Tumul.

⁽³¹⁾Written according to the words of Lu-Inana, chief leatherworker of Enlil.

⁽³²⁻³³⁾Išbi-Erra built Ekur-igiġal, Enlil's storehouse.

Commentary

For a detailed commentary of the personal names and cult places used in this text see Michalowski 2006, 155ff. With one exception, all the characters are known from other Sumerian literary compositions including SKL (Ibid. 159). Moreover, the kings represent the dynasties in the order in which they are presented in SKL: Kiš-Ur-Uruk-Ur-Isin, with the significant omission of Akkad. The first three cult places are only attested in literary compositions and lexical lists while the others occur in administrative documents as well. All occur together in the Nippur version of Proto Kagal (Ibid. 157ff). It is for these reasons that

Michalowski concludes “The context of [this inscription] is not history and royal legitimation, but the hermetic world of the Old Babylonian schools, detached from the real world by their employment of a long dead language (Ibid. 163).”

While the composition may have been intended as humorous, as Michalowski suggested given the profession of the speaker, within the context of SEpM, it takes on new meaning. Specifically, together with SEpM 1–8, the Tumul text serves to further the notion of Isin as the legitimate successors of Ur III (see further Chapter 2).

Oelsner 2003, 221f. provides charts comparing the variant verbal forms that occur. He also charts the use of determinatives with personal names.

SEpM 10. An Axe for Nergal (5.7.3)

1. nibru^{ki}-ta-lú
2. dumu lugal-šuba dam-gàr-ra-ke₄
3. ^dnergal-ra
4. ^{urudu}ha-zi-in an-na mu-na-ni-in-dím
5. ġiš-bi ^{ġiš}ar-ga-nu-um hur-sâġ-ġâ
6. a-lâl-e diri-ga-àm
7. na₄-bi an-ta-sur-ra-àm
8. gaba-ri nu-tuku-àm
9. hé-sâġ-ge á-ni na-an-kúš-ù
10. hé-éb-ta-haš-e
11. ga-mu-na-ab-silim
12. ú-gu hé-ni-ib-dé-e
13. ki-bi ga-mu-na-ab-ġi₄
14. u₄ ti-la-ġâ igi hu-mu-un-du₈
15. u₄ ba-úš-en kur-ra
16. a si-ga hu-mu-un-na₈-na₈

(¹)Nippurtalu, (²)son of Lugal-šuba, the merchant, (⁴)fashioned a heavenly axe (³)for Nergal.

(⁵)Its wood of the *arganum*-tree of the mountain (⁶)is superior to the *alal*-(stone). (⁷)Its stone is *antasura*, (⁸)which has no rival.

(⁹)When he strikes (with it), may his arm never tire. (¹⁰)Should it break, (¹¹)I will repair it for him. (¹²)Should he lose it, (¹³)I will replace it for him.

(¹⁴)As long as I lie may I be regarded (with benevolence). (¹⁵)When I die (¹⁶)may I drink clear water in the netherworld.

Commentary

For discussion of dedicatory inscriptions and their place within SEpM see Chapter 2.2.2.3.

1. The name nibru^{ki}-ta-lú is analogous to names such as ^den-ki-ta-lú, ^dba-ú-ta-lú, however, this is the only occurrence of which the divine name is replaced by a place name (Civil 1969, 180).

4. Alternatively, Wilcke (1969, 58 w/n 210 and 184) and, most recently, George (2003, 793) understand an-na as the metal. This interpretation would imply that an-ta-sur-ra in l. 7 was an ornamental precious

stone, for which see Schuster-Brandis 2008, 163f. and 172f. where it is mentioned among such objects.

5. That the ar-ga-nu-um tree comes from the mountains is attested also in Al 92.

6. The unexpected comparison of wood with stone prompted the editors of PSD A/I 105 to include a second definition of a-làl as a type of wood. Elsewhere, however, a-làl is always a type of stone. Moreover, there is no *a priori* reason that wood cannot be compared to stone, the idea being the wood was so strong that it is was superior to stone. The destiny assigned to the a-làl in Lugale 489–496 makes clear that it was a particularly strong stone. For a similar conclusion see Attinger 1995, 137.

7ff. N58 omits lines 7 and 8. That lines 6, 7 and 8 all end with the same sign suggest the omission was a result of haplography.

7. For the stone an-ta-sur-ra see Schuster-Brandis 2008, 395 and the OB Nippur forerunner to Hh XVI (MSL 10 57) in which an-ta-sur-ra is qualified by the determinative na₄. Stone axes continue to be found in post-Neolithic contexts presumably for votive purposes (Moorey 1994, 73). In particular note K107, an inscribed fragmentary stone axe from OB Nippur, cited in Ch. 2.2.2.3. A weapon of an-ta-sur-ra is attested also EWO 408 in which part of Ninmug's destiny specifies that she will carry the antasura blade. In Lu-diġira 27, Lu-diġira describes the beauty of his mother, comparing her to an antasura ring.

16. Fear of not having clean water to drink in the netherworld was apparently justified. For instance, UrN A 83 offers the following description:

ú kur-ra ses-àm a kur-ra mun₄-na-àm

“the food of the netherworld is bitter, the water of the netherworld is brackish.”

Moreover, in the Ur tradition of GEN (UET 6/1 60, rev. 1. 10, 17), upon learning that his parents drink dirty water Gilgamesh performs funerary rites to rectify this:

a-a-ġu₁₀ ù ama-ġu₁₀ a si-ig-ga naġ-zé-en

“Father of mine and mother of mine, drink clear water!”

SEpM 11. Letter to the Generals (3.3.13)

1. šagina-e-ne
2. ù-na-dug₄
3. šabra-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a
4. igi ^{id}buranun-na
5. tum-ma-al^{ki}-šè ba-ni-ib-è
6. ù káb-ku₅ mah ugnim íb-ak-e
7. a-ša ġiš-ġi-du₅-lá-šè ba-ni-ib-è
8. a-zi-ga 1 ½ kùš im-ma-zig
9. tukum-bi ^{utu} nu-um-ta-è
10. 7200 erín ugu-ba nu-ub-gub
11. 216,000 aša₅ ba-ab-tùm
12. á ma-tur nu-mu-un-da-til-en
13. a-ma-ru-kam

⁽²⁾Say to ⁽¹⁾the generals, ⁽³⁾thus says the šabra:

⁽⁴⁾The surface of the Euphrates ⁽⁵⁾has overflowed as far as Tumal ⁽⁶⁾and the army is making a huge flood control reservoir. ⁽⁷⁾(But) it has spread all the way to the Gišgidulla field. ⁽⁸⁾The flood waters rose to 1 ½ cubits (0.75m). ⁽⁹⁾If the sun does not come out, ⁽¹⁰⁾not even 7200 troops will stand against it. ⁽¹¹⁾A huge amount⁶⁴ of land has already been carried away!

⁽¹²⁾The labor(force) is insufficient for me. I am unable to finish the task!

⁽¹³⁾It is urgent!

Commentary

1. The form in N7, šagina-e-ne-er, is expected. I have not included the dative marker in the eclectic text, however, as it does not occur in the other six sources for this line. This is unusual as the dative is generally used in the SEpM corpus following a title or epithet (e.g. SEpM 6, 12, 16, 18).

3. On the role of the šabra in the Ur III administration see Zettler 1992, 177; Sallaberger 1999a, 194–5. It is unclear why four of seven manuscripts omit this line. šabra is a loan from Akkadian *šāpīr*, so the

⁶⁴ Literally 216,000 iku = 77760 Ha, an area roughly 1/5th the size of Rhode Island.

final /k/ is unexpected. The -ke₄ may have become a frozen form to express only the ergative see Attinger 1993, 214 §137 r. 2. Alternatively (and despite SEpM 13:2), Attinger (personal communication) suggests reading šabra-é.

4. For igi as “surface” compare the use of Akkadian *panû* (CAD P 89f.).
6. While káb-ku₅ is generally understood as a reservoir used to collect and redistribute water, its precise location either directly on a main canal or off-line the canal is debated (Steinkeller 1988, 74–79; Civil 1994, 133). For the reading of NAĜ as káb see Sallaberger 1991.
7. On the identification of the Ĝišgidula field, a field located in the vicinity of Nippur, see Zettler 1992, 115f. w/n 1 and 2; Civil 1994, 184. In Ur III administrative texts it is always spelled ĝiš-gi-dul₄/dul₉-lá.
8. This line is identical to the first line of SP 15 C14.
10. The number 7200 is a common motif in Sumerian literary texts representing, “abundant” or “numerous.” In reference to troops note in particular the request of Puzur-Šulgi in CKU 14 ll. 26–27.
11. The amount of flooded land, 216,000 iku, is clear hyperbole.
12. The same complaint is made in SEpM 12:11.

SEpM 12. Ur-Enlila to the ensi and saĝĝa (B10, 3.3.4)

1. ensi₂ saĝĝa-ra ù-ne-a-dug₄
2. ^mur-^den-líl-lá-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a
3. pa₅ a luh-ha a i-íb-tùm
4. ^{md}en-líl-lá-ĝu₁₀ ù ha-an-za-mu
5. íb-sàg-ge-eš mu-da-an-kar-re-eš
6. ^mlugal-an-né na-ab-bé-a
7. ĝe₂₆-e pa₅ l-àm za-e pa₅ l-àm ensi₂ pa₅ l-àm
8. a hé-mu-e-de₆ bí-in-dug₄ nu-mu-un-še-ge-eš
9. erin₂ íd-zu nu-ma pa₅-bí a i-íb-tùm
10. ĝe₂₆-e záh-bi a ma-ab-tùm
11. á ma-tur 5 ĝuruš 10 hu-mu-e-ši-in-ĝi₄-ĝi₄-ma
12. a-ma-ru-kam

⁽¹⁾Say to the governor and chief temple administrator, ⁽²⁾thus says Ur-Enlila:

⁽³⁾An irrigation channel, which had been cleared, was carrying water. ⁽⁴⁾(But) Enlilaĝu and Hanzamu ⁽⁵⁾breached it (and so) made off with (water) from it. ⁽⁶⁾(Because of this) Lugalane said: ⁽⁷⁾“(That) single channel is for me, (that) single channel is for you (and that) single channel is for the governor. ⁽⁸⁾Thus water will certainly be brought to each of you.” He spoke, (but) they (i.e. Enlilaĝu and Hanzamu) did not agree: ⁽⁹⁾“Your canal has no workmen, (so) its channel carries water (unchecked).”

⁽¹⁰⁾As for me, what escapes from it carries water to me. ⁽¹¹⁾The labor (force) is insufficient for me. You should send me 5 or 10 workmen.

⁽¹²⁾It is urgent!

Commentary

1. While there is debate as to whether this letter is addressed to one person (e.g. SEpM 14:6) or two (Civil 1994, 178f.) the plural dative case marker -ne- in X23—a text which was unavailable to Civil—proves that at least in one manuscript two separate individuals were intended.

8. X23 omits the direct object, a. The mistakes this scribe made elsewhere in the text suggest he did not understand what he was writing. The variant -me- for -mu-e- in X23 may be a phonetic writing.

9. The variant -zum na- in X23 is a result of a sandhi writing with the frequent m/n alternation. The end of the line in X23 reads pa₅ a-bi íb-tù_m, “it carried the water of the channel,” where pa₅ a-bi is an anticipatory genitive (for which see Zólyomi 1996: 39ff.).

10. While Civil 1994, 179 would like to see záh-bi as an adverb, its position *before* the object would be difficult to explain. Instead, I argue line 10 was structured in order to parallel, and so supplement, the second half of line 9.

11. The same complaint is made in SEpM 11:12. The Akkadian enclitic copula is best understood as an emphatic. The topos of 5 or 10 is standard in Sumerian literature to represent a small number (e.g. ELA 251: “with fewer than 5 or 10 men...”; see also CA 66, SgLeg 3N-T296 8). X23 omits the beginning of the line, á má-tur and has 5 ġuruš saġ-dili in place of 5 ġuruš 10, further indication that the scribe did not understand the Sumerian.

SEpM 13. An ensi and saĝĝa to a king (B11, 3.3.5)

1. lugal-me ù-na-dug₄
2. ensi₂ saĝĝa-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a
3. a-ša da-ab-ta^{ki} 10,800 iku-bi
4. éš-gàr ^den-líl ù ^dnin-líl ù ^dnin-urta
5. šà-bi-ta 540^{iku}-àm šukur₂ lú níĝ-dab₃-ba-ke₄-ne
6. 180^{iku}-àm sa-dúr a-ša-ga-bi
7. ^miq-bi-šúm ù a-bi-qá-ti-e inim mu-da-an-ĝar-re-eš
8. tukum-bi lugal-me an-na-kam
9. ra-gaba hu-mu-ši-in-ĝi₄-ĝi₄-ma
10. kíĝ a-ak bulug a-ša inim dug₄ hu-mu-ni-ib-[bé]
11. dūr!-bi-še 2 iku X 180-eše₃^{iku} gaba a-ša-ga-bi
12. ^{ĝi}al-ta ba-dúb kíĝ-še ba-ak
13. erin₂ tah-hu-um engar ša-gu₄ lú ^{ĝi}apin-na nu-me-a
14. gu₄ dili-dili-ta a-ša ^{ĝi}š bí-ùr
15. al ì-ak-en-dè-en lugal-me hé-en-zu

(¹)Say to our king, (²)thus says the governor (and) chief temple administrator:

(³)The Dabta field—3000 ha (10,800 iku)—(⁴)is the) ešgar (field) of Enlil, Ninlil and Ninurta. (⁵)From it: 150 ha (540 iku) are the sustenance fields of the men *in charge of the requisitions*. (⁶)50 ha (180 iku) is (the area at) the lower end of the field. (⁷)(About this) Iqbišum and Abi-qati instituted a claim.

(⁸)If our king consents, (⁹)he should send a courier and (¹⁰)[give] (us) an order (regarding) the work and the boundary of the field.

(¹¹) 0.5 ha (2 iku) at its back and 50[+x] ha (180[+x] iku) at the edge of the field (¹²)were broken up with hoes (and so) prepared. (¹³)There being no replacement workers, farmers, ox-drivers or plowmen, (¹⁴)the field was harrowed (only) with individual oxen. (¹⁵)We are (only) working with hoes! This our king should know.

Ur Version

1. a-ša me-àm^{ki} [...] iku-àm
2. éš-gàr ^den-líl ù ^dnin-urta
3. šà-bi-ta 540^{iku}-àm
4. šukur₂ lú níĝ-PAD-e-ne

5. egir?-bi-šè sahar 2 iku iku-ba-me-a
6. al-ta ba-dúb erin₂-ta hé-x-a
7. kíġ-šè sar a-šà-ga lú apin-bi nu-bi
8. iq-bi-šúm! ù a!-/bi!-qá-ti!\
9. inim mu-e-de-ġar-re-eš
10. tukum-bi lugal-ġu₁₀
11. an-na (erasure)-kam
12. ra-gaba hu-mu-un-in-ġi₄-ġi₄
13. kíġ ak bulug a-šà-ga-bi
14. inim dug₄-ga₁₄(KA) mu-ni-ib-e!

⁽¹⁾The “Where-Is-It?” field (is) [...] hectares. ⁽²⁾(It is) the ešgar (field) of Enlil and Ninurta. ⁽³⁾From among it: 150 ha (540 iku) are ⁽⁴⁾the sustenance fields of the men in charge of the requisitions.

⁽⁵⁾At its back there are 0.5 ha (2 iku) of soil (that) ⁽⁶⁾were broken up by the hoe (and so) should be worked by the troops (but) ⁽⁷⁾there are no plowmen to work the plot in the field. ⁽⁸⁾(About this) *Iqbišum* and *Abiqati* ⁽⁹⁾instituted a claim.

⁽¹⁰⁾If our king ⁽¹¹⁾consents, ⁽¹²⁾he should send a courier. ⁽¹⁴⁾He (should) give (us) an order ⁽¹³⁾(regarding) the plowing and the boundary of the field.

Commentary

2. For the incorrect ergative marker, ke₄ see SEpM 11:3. While it is tempting to read saġġa-é, especially as the second sign differs slightly from the LÍL in l. 4 of N4 and N76. However, in light of SEpM 12:1 and 14:6 this interpretation is unlikely.

3. For a-šà da-ab-ta see PSD A/I 181 lex. 36. The Ur version replaces the Nippur field with a field called me-àm, “where is it?” expressing the scribe’s unfamiliarity with the Nippur environs.

4. It is unclear whether ^dnin-líl should be part of the eclectic line. There does not appear to be enough space in the break at the end of the line in N78 for two divine names. It seems logical, however, for Ninlil to have been listed among the primary gods of Nippur and so I have chosen to include her here. More troublesome is why three deities, all of whom have their own Nippur temples, are lumped together. Perhaps this was a deliberate hyperbole intended to stress that the provincial authority can dispose of *any* temple land.

While *éš-gàr* normally designates a work assignment, here it seems to more adequately reflect one particular usage of the Akkadian *iškaru* where the term is used to qualify a field as one on which the assigned *iškaru* task was to be performed (CAD I/J 248 mng. 5).

5. For various interpretations of *lú níĝ-dab₅-ba* see Kraus 1985–6, 37f.; Sallaberger 1993, 49 n. 205; Maekawa 1995, 175f.; Widell 2005, 17 and 38f. w/n 17; al-Rawi and Verderame 2006, 75. Maekawa, for instance, proposes people who managed land for a public institution in exchange for provisions, while Sallaberger suggests those responsible for taking in charge requisitions for certain purposes such as offerings. Note especially that the title is attested in OB only in Nippur sources, although it is more wide spread in Ur III. The limited use of this term in OB may explain the Ur scribe's unfamiliarity with it. The Ur variant, *lú níĝ-PAD-e-ne*, seems to conflate the term *lú níĝ-dab₅-ba* with its older form *lú PAD-dab₅-ba* (Selz 1993, 152f.; FAOS 15/2 text no. 11). Alternatively, the repetition of the PAD sign in this line may have been no more than a case of dittography.

7. The names chosen here are unusual. *Iqbišum* is attested once in an Ur III archival source from Nippur (TMH NF 1–2, 7) and in the PN list PBS 11/1 64 no. 279. While the name *Abi-qati* is unattested, Civil 1994, 181 compares *Ili-qati* in PBS 11/1 55 no. 65.

11. The reading *dúr* for SU in N41 follows the suggestion of Civil 1994, 182. For *dúr-bi-šè*, “at the bottom, at the back,” see Civil 1984, 285f. For *gaba*, “edge” cf. the entries listed sv. *gaba a-ša* PSD A/I 171.

12. Although the word *dúb* to express hoeing is unusual, I argue this was deliberately intended to emphasize the workers are forced to break up the earth with hoes as there were no oxen available.

13. While *engar* is well attested in both literary and archival sources, the other professions in this line are not. *erin₂ tah-hu-um* is otherwise unattested in Sumerian sources. *tah-hu-um*, a loan from Akkadian—which itself is a loan from Sumerian,—occurs elsewhere only in TH and in a half-dozen Ur III and early OB administrative sources, qualifying either *ninda* (bread) or *siki* (wool). Based on these parallels *erin₂* here is best understood as *šābu*, “people, troops” and not *šimiltu*, “plow team.”

ša-gu₄ is abundantly attested in Ur III archival sources and occurs in OB Nippur Lu 437 (MSL 12, 48). However, it is otherwise unattested in OB Sumerian literature.

Finally lú ^{gis}apin-na, “man of the plough” is a hapax to this letter. The expected form, lú ^{gis}apin-lá, is also rarely attested in OB, attested only in Nippur Lu 450 (MSL 12, 48) as APIN-lá and in GEN 265. I cannot explain the form apin-bi nu-bi in the Ur manuscript.

SEpM 14. Announcement of a Lost Seal (B12, 5.7.a)

1. kišib₃ mu-sar ur-dun dam-gàr-ra ú-gu ba-an-dé
2. inim pu-úh-ru-um-ma-ta
3. niġir-e sila-sila-a si gù ba-ni-in-ra
4. lú na-me níġ na-me ugu-na li-bí-in-tuku
5. ^mlú-^dsuen-na šagina
6. ^mlugal-me-lám ensi₂ saġġa⁶⁵
7. ^mzu-zu um-mi-a
8. ^msi-dù dub-sar
9. ^mad-lul agrig
10. ^mba-an-sa₆-ge-en gala
11. ^mul-lí-a ha-za-nu-um
12. niġir lú-ki-inim-ma

(¹)The inscribed seal of Ur-dun, the merchant, was lost. (²)According to the proclamation of the assembly, (³)the herald blew the horn in all the streets. (⁴)He will not owe anyone anything (on account of fraudulent use of the seal).

(⁵)Lu-Suena, the general, (⁶)Lugal-melam the governor and temple administrator,⁶⁶ (⁷)Zuzu, the scholar, (⁸)Sidu, the scribe, (⁹)Adlul, the steward, (¹⁰)Bansagen, the lamentation performer, (¹¹)Ullia the mayor, (¹²)(and) the herald are the witnesses.

Commentary

For the historical context of this text see Chapter 2.2.2.4. For discussion of the personal names see Chapter 2.4.2.

2. The *puhrum* is unattested in Ur III Gerichtsurkunden. The term first occurs with certainty in a murder trial from the reign of Ur-Ninurta of Isin (Falkenstein 1956, 32 w/n. 3). On the role of the Nippur *puhrum* see Lieberman 1992, esp. p. 134.

3. For si gù ra, “to blow the horn” see Sassmannshausen 1995, 98f.; Karahashi 2000, 111; Römer 2005, 531; Civil 2008, 102. In other literary texts, the verb is always used in the context of mobilizing an

⁶⁵ X15 adds: inim-inim-ne-ne ba-an<-šúm>-me-eš kišib₃-ba-ne-ne in-eš.

⁶⁶ X15 adds: they gave their word, they ordered their sealed tablet.

army (see also Roth 1979, 53f.). However, the verb also occurs in parallel context in the OB legal practice texts YOS 1 28 with regard to a lost seal and in FLP 1287 with regard to a decision of manumission (Roth 1979, 33).

The line also is similar to Lugalbanda I 25 and DG Seg. H 11:

niġir(-e) kur-kur-ra si ġù ba-ni-ra

“the herald made the horn resound in all the lands”

4. This expression occurs among a list of legal formulae immediately following the announcement of manumission cited above (FLP 1287 col. ii ll. 30–31: [u]gu-na [l]i-bí-in-tuku (Roth 1979, 34); note also Hh I 266–274 for which see Roth 1979, 62). This is a direction translation of the Akkadian *eli* PN *išû*. In Sumerian the equivalent expression should be—da-tuku (Wilcke 2007, 110f.).

6. One manuscript, X15, adds an additional line here. Neither KA-
KA-ne-ne ba-an-me-eš nor kišib₃-ba-ne-ne in-eš is attested elsewhere. The first verb however, may be a mistake for ba-an<-šúm>-me-eš,⁶⁷ although -šúm-me-eš (in place of šúm-mu-uš) is otherwise unattested. Another possibility may be to read ba-na-lá-eš as in Edubba C:16, although with a very different meaning. For the second part of the line compare the passage in the announcement of the manumission of a slave in FLP 1287 col. ii. ll. 4–6:

kišib₃-an-ni sag-ki-né

táb-e-dè

in-na-an-/n\e-eš

“They ordered his document (of manumission) to be (made permanent by being) fired with regard to his forehead (which is to be cleared)”⁶⁸

This occurs also in Aa VI iv 21–23 for which see Roth 1979, 54f. The sense here is clearly that the high officials involved, the general and governor, attested to the facts of the case and had their attestation recorded on a sealed document.

⁶⁷ Compare FLP 1287 ll. 32–33 among a list of legal formulae:

[K]A-KA-ni
/ba\an-šúm

“He gave to him his spoken word (= he promised him)” (Roth 1979, 34). See also CKU 23:6.

⁶⁸ Roth 1979, 33.

SEpM 15. *Ilaba-tah-lugalĝa to his brothers* (B13, 3.3.6)

1. šěš-ĝu₁₀-ne ù-na-dug₄
2. ìl-a-ba₄-tah-lugal-ĝá-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a
3. al-sù-ud kaskal i-im-re₇-en-na
4. ù lugal gi-na lugal-me-er ba-an-ús
5. kaskal-kaskal-e kaskal ba-an-tah
6. ama-me èn li-bí-in-tar-re-dè-en
7. dag-gi₄-a-me u₄ na-an-šú-uš-a LUL.AŠ
8. 1 sila₃ mun 1 sila₃ gazi
9. 1 šà-ga-dù ^{úg}
10. lú-gir₇ hu-mu-e-gi₄
11. kaskal-me al-sù-ud
12. a-ma-ru-kam

⁽¹⁾Say to my brothers, ⁽²⁾thus says Ilaba-tah-lugalĝa:

⁽³⁾The campaign we are serving on is long. ⁽⁴⁾And now the just king has followed our king, ⁽⁵⁾(and so) he has extended the campaign.⁶⁹

⁽⁶⁾(Therefore) we cannot take care of our mother.

⁽⁷⁾Be sure that before the sun sets on our neighborhood, ⁽¹⁰⁾you have sent a runner (with) ⁽⁸⁾1 liter of salt, 1 liter of gazi ⁽⁹⁾and a belt.

⁽¹¹⁾Our campaign is long. ⁽¹²⁾It is urgent!

Commentary

1. For the use of the singular dative infix -na- where the plural is expected see comm. SEpM 11:2.

2. The name ìl-a-ba₄-tah-lugal-ĝá, “Ilaba is the helper of my king,” is unattested in Ur III or OB archival sources. While the DN Ilaba occurs in Sargonic period personal names, it is not common (Westenholz 1999, 78). For tah in place of á-tah see e.g. Proto-Izi I 175 (MSL 13, 23).

3. N45 makes clear that the second verb is a relative and this makes most sense if it is dependent on the first verb in the line, although the word order is admittedly unexpected.

⁶⁹ Literally: “added roads to the road.”

4. The use of lugal gi-na as a play on the name Sargon is plausible and, together with the divine element Ilaba in the sender's name, suggests that this letter was intended to be set in the Sargonic period (e.g. Michalowski 1976, 17f.). Certainly there was a conscious play using Sargonic elements.

6. Èn tar is best understood in the sense of Akkadian *araktu parāsu*, “to take care of (person or situation),” as used primarily in OB letters.

7. LUL.AŠ is attested in OB Diri 508 (MSL 15, 48) where it is translated by the Akkadian adverb *madiš*. The reading remains uncertain. While there is an OB lexical evidence equating *mādu* with /lu/, a reading lu₅ for LUL is unlikely if AŠ were intended to represent the terminative. Although Aa VII/4 134 (MSL 14 468) does give the value duga for LUL, it is not attested in the OB forerunner to this list, Proto Ea 578–582a (MSL 14 54f.; Steinkeller 1984, 10). The value ka₅ is, to my knowledge, only used logographically. For the pre-OB evidence see Steinkeller 1984, 13. See further e.g. Steinkeller 1984, 15 n. 21; Stol 1998, 349; Lämmerhirt 2010, 253.

Syntactically, in the admittedly few examples known to me (Nin-Turt Seg. B 5, EnkNinm 79), LUL.AŠ stands directly before the verb it modifies, whereas here it likely modifies the verb that it follows.

8. Although the precise identification of the gazi plant is not established, there is extensive literature on the subject for which see e.g. Stol 1994, 175–179; Englund 1995, 417f.; Geller 2000; Powell 2003–2005, 20; Uargyas 2001, 187–207; Pientka 2002, 515; Heeßel and al-Rawi 2003, 236; Heimpel 2009, 214; Kleinerman and Owen 2009, 57 w/n 39; Maiocchi 2009, 67.

10. lú-gir₇: *šānū*, “runner, trotter,” is, to my knowledge, attested only once as a title in administrative texts (HLC 23 pl. 62 line 10; but in Sumerian literature see also SepM 16:1 and 10; NingNina 48, 64, 83; Lu-diġira 6). When lú-DU occurs elsewhere in the Ur III corpus it is most likely a personal name. The lexical equation is only available in first millennium sources. However, lú-gir₇ (DU) is only a simplified version of the very common lú-kaš₄ (DU-š.), and this may have been what was intended.

SEpM 16. Monkey to Mother (B14, 3.3.7)

1. lú di lú di ama-ĝu₁₀-ra
2. ù-na-dug₄
3. ^{ugu}ugu₄-bi na-ab-bé-a
4. urim₂^{ki} iri giri₁₇-zal ^dnanna-ka
5. eridug^{ki} iri hé-ĝál ^den-ki-ga-ka
6. ĝe₂₆-e egir ^{ĝi}ig é nar-gal-ka al-tuš-en
7. igi-tùm-lá mu-gu₇-en
8. nam-ba-da-úš-en
9. ninda ba-ra-gibil-lá kaš ba-ra-gibil-lá
10. lú-gir₇ kaskal-e šu taka₄-ma-ab
11. a-ma-ru-kam

⁽¹⁻²⁾Speaker, speaker say to my mother, ⁽³⁾thus says Monkey:

⁽⁴⁾(Whether) in Ur, the delightful city of Nanna, ⁽⁵⁾(or) in Eridu, the abundant city of Enki, ⁽⁶⁾I am (stuck) sitting behind the door of the house of the master musician. ⁽⁷⁾(All) I am eating is (my) jealousy!

⁽⁸⁾May I not die of this!⁷⁰ ⁽⁹⁾As the bread is never fresh, the beer is never fresh, ⁽¹⁰⁾send a runner on route for me. ⁽¹¹⁾It is urgent!

Commentary

1. The addressee of this letter—lú di lú di—has been the source of much confusion. The early translators—Falkenstein, Ali, Gordon, van Dijk, and Shaffer/Barnett—assumed this was the name of the mother, Ludiludi. While this possibility cannot be ruled out, the form would be unusual.⁷¹ Others—Cohen, Powell—understood lú di as “passer-by” or “traveler.” To my knowledge, however, the equation of di: *alāku* is attested only in Emesal, canonical Izi, and one bilingual incantation.⁷²

⁷⁰ Alternative: “I do not want to die from this!” (Attinger 1993, 290f. §189c).

⁷¹ In InDesc her mascara is called lú hé-em-du hé-em-du, “let a man come, let him come” (ll. 22, 110) and her pectoral is lú ĝá-nu ĝá-nu, “Come, man, come” (ll. 23, 111). The sexual connotations of the names were obviously deliberate (Sladek 1974, 81). Give the association between musicians, monkeys and sex—or, at the very least, female nudity—as seen on some OB plaques (Dunham 1985, 245f.), something similar may also have been intended here, perhaps an invented name in Emesal “lú-di-lú-di,” “one who comes, one who comes,” as in the Emesal translation of SP 2.35.

⁷² uru₃-ám-i-ra-bi tablet 19 ll. 79–80. For the lexical attestations of lú di: *alāku* see Volk 1989, 128f.

Instead, *lú di lú di* is best understood as the substantive *lú* with the present participle of *dug₄*, *di*, “the one who speaks” or “speaker.”⁷³ For the variant *lú-DU*, perhaps to be read as *gir₇*, see SEpM 15:10.

3. The manuscript tradition is divided on the species of the sender; two of six insert the *Personenkeil* before *u^{gu}ugu₄-bi* (N71, N74). Of the two manuscripts that are not single composition tablets—N76 and N85—only N76 preserves other attestations of personal names. In these instances, N76 consistently uses the *Personenkeil*. This would suggest that its absence in SEpM 16 was deliberate. As such, we are left with two sources (N74 and N85) that believed the letter was coming from a person and one source (N76) that did not. The other three manuscripts—with lack of comparative material—remain unclear. These manuscripts may simply reflect traditions in which the *Personenkeil* was unnecessary before a personal name.

Given that this letter ridiculed the lifestyle of street musicians, and the well-attested use of monkeys as performers, it is likely that a real monkey was intended. Regardless, the character’s function is the same.

5ff. Ll. 5–7 parallel SP 3.150. While Cohen 1976, 271 suggested that the proverb was extracted from this letter, it has to have been the other way around.

7. For *igi-tùm-lá*, “to spy, look with envy” see most recently Alster 2005, 145 following the translation first suggested by Civil 1984, 294; Attinger 2005, 230f.; Klein and Sharlach 2007, 12; Pientka 2010, 178 w/n 36.

8. The *-da-* infix in this line is problematic and its interpretation is uncertain. First, the *-da-* could be the abilitative. This interpretation finds parallel in InDesc 43//52//60//185//199//212, *nam-ba-da-an-gam-e*, “don’t let anyone kill her.” Alternatively, *-da-* may be transitivity, “may it not kill me.” Finally, *-da-* may be a phonetic or graphic variant of */ta/* for the means by which death would come.

I believe the last option is most likely. The comitative infix occurs only twice in prefix chains with forms of *úš*, “to die” and never with the ablative-instrumental. The first instance, CKU 14 33 is a direct

⁷³ Note the *lú di* is listed among musicians and singers in ED Lu E 96 (MSL 12, 18).

parallel to our line and so is equally ambiguous. The second instance, a proverb from Ur, may shed some light on the problem. UrProverb UET 6/2 306 2 reads: *nam-me-a šaġar ba-da-an-ug₇-e-še*. However, the parallel proverb SP 6 142 reads: *šaġar-da ba-ug₇-e-dè-en-e-še*. The case marker in the Nippur recension strongly suggests that the prefix in the Ur version of the proverb—and perhaps in our line as well—is indicative of the ablative-instrumental /ta/.

9. The reading *gibil* as opposed to *pél*, apud Cohen 1976, is based on context. However, a reading *pél* could indicate a rhetorical question, “Is the bread not spoiled? Is the beer not spoiled?” which would fit the interpretation offered here just as well. Elsewhere in Sumerian literature, however, *pél* is said only in the ritual sense of defiled and is never applied to food. *bíl*, “sour” is also possible, but is dismissed for the same reason. Although *ninda gibil* and *kaš gibil* are unattested in the Sumerian literary corpus, they are attested in Ur III administrative sources. Although the evidence from Proto Ea and Proto Aa argues strongly in favor of a reading /inda/ for *ĜAR*,⁷⁴ I read *ninda* here by convention.

The final /a/ on the verb is unexpected. While -a is a frequent orthographic variant for -àm (emphatic), we might expect at least one source to preserve the full writing. I understand the /a/ here as indicating a subordinate clause.

10. For *šu taka₄*, “to send letters, messengers or instructions” see Civil 1990, 109ff. who argues contra Powell 1978, 194 that this verb does not imply *per forma* a notion of an official or elite gift. Thus, the humor of this line does not rely on the incongruity of the sender’s request for a diplomatic present of basic staples, but, instead on the very lack of such a request! Although apparently starving, the sender does not request provisions but only a return message, perhaps a further jab at the stupidity of the monkey and his musical colleagues, or, more generously, a plea for someone to come and bring him home.

⁷⁴ Proto Ea 210 (MSL 14, 40): *in-da* (vars. *i-da-a*, [*in-ta*]): *ninda(ĜAR)*; Proto Aa 210:1 (MSL 14, 97) [*i*]n-da: *ninda(GAR)* = *a-ka-lu*.

SEpM 17. Šamaš-ṭāb to Ilak-ni'id (B15, 3.3.8)

1. i-la-ak-ni-id ù-na-dug₄
2. ^{md}UTU.DÙG-e na-ab-bé-a
3. kaskal iti 1 ud 15-kam ud ní-za hé-bí-DU
4. šà ni-qum^{ki}-ma-šè a-na-še-àm iti-da ud 3-kam-ma-bi
5. á áĝ-ĝá-zu na-ma-tùm
6. bar-zu èn bí-in-tar ĝiri₃-zu si ba-ab-sá
7. 2 anše-ĝiš-a kug-bi 4 gín
8. 1 šà-ga-dù gada kug-bi 1/2 gín
9. á ^{ĝiš}má-zu 1 gín
10. á mas-su ^{ĝiš}má-zu 1 1/3 gín-àm
11. a bí-si-ig
12. zi-ga didli-zu šà-bi-ta nu-ĝál
13. 2 gún siki da-gal-tum-ma kug-bi ha-ra-da-šid
14. níĝ-sa₁₀-ma kug 1 2/3 ma-na-kam nagga-a ĝi₄-ma-ni-ib
15. ^{na4}du₈-ši-a ^{na4}nir₇-igi ^{na4}nir₇-muš-ĝír
16. ĝeštug₂-zu hé-ĝál
17. kug didli-zu saĝ-bi ha-ra-ab-dab₅ im-ma hu-mu-ra-ab-tag
18. u₄-da-ta á áĝ-ĝá-zu hé-em-tùm
19. a-ma-ru-kam

(1) Say to Ilak-ni'id, (2) thus says Šamaš-ṭāb:

(3) The journey is 1 month and 15 days. You should leave at once.⁷⁵

(4-5) There is no reason you should not (be able to) report back to me⁷⁶ in Niquim by the 3rd of the month. (6) I have looked after you and arranged your way.

(7) Of the 2 donkeys, their silver: 4 shekels;

(8) Of the linen belt, it's silver: 1 shekel;

(9) The price for your boat: 1 shekel;

(10) The price for... is 1 1/3 shekel.

(11) *The water is clear.* (12) Your miscellaneous expenses will not be included among these.

⁷⁵ Literally: "You, yourself, should leave today" (with ud as the object of the 2nd sg. hamtu transitive verb hé-bí-DU).

⁷⁶ Literally: "bring me your news."

⁽¹³⁾I have calculated for you, in your presence, the value of 2 talents of dagaltum wool: ⁽¹⁴⁾The merchandise is (worth)⁷⁷ 1 and 2/3 mana of silver. Bring it to me in tin! ⁽¹⁶⁾Keep on the lookout for ⁽¹⁵⁾the *duši'a*, the *nirigi* and the *nirmušgír* stones.

⁽¹⁷⁾Your various payments—its capital—has been taken on your behalf and recorded on a tablet for you. ⁽¹⁸⁾As of today report back to me.⁷⁸

⁽¹⁹⁾It is urgent!

Commentary

1. The name *Ilak-nu'id*, “praise your god!” is attested in Ur III administrative documents from Adab and once at Ur (Hilgert 2002, 497). The spelling of the imperative, *ni-id*, as preserved in all manuscripts of this letter, is otherwise unattested. There is a Mari name, *Ilak-nâd* (ARM 14 47:16) constructed with G-imperative of *nâdu* as opposed to the more common D-stem.⁷⁹ The imperative of *na'adu* is *i'id*, written *i-hi-id* in OB. Perhaps the original compiler of this letter conflated the two forms, which are frequently confused (GAG 155 §107 n). Given that the form *nu'id* seems no longer to have been used for PNs in OB, this confusion is all the more likely.

3. The second part of l. 3, preserved in one manuscript only (N15), is problematic. Although the /a/ of *ní-za* would be unexpected, a translation such as “You, yourself, should go/went today,” fits best within the context. Given the numerous other problems with N15 (e.g. omission of the crucial line 5, incorrect locative ending on the object in line 7, omission of the crucial object in line 14, etc.⁸⁰), the mistaken final /a/ is perhaps not surprising.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Var. (N15): “The price is...”

⁷⁸ Literally: “bring your news here.”

⁷⁹ Note also names such as *DN-na-da* for which see Stamm 1939, 202.

⁸⁰ All of which would appear to be memory errors that perhaps went uncorrected due to the scribe's incomprehension of the original the Sumerian text (cf. Delnero 2006, e.g. 157, 162ff, 1850ff).

⁸¹ Understanding the /a/ as a locative marker it would be possible to read as “You should go/went on the day of your choosing (lit: on your own day).” Although grammatically correct (Attinger 1993, 175 §111), this use of *ní-*, in place of an expected *ša*, *libbu*, would be, to my knowledge, unparalleled. Alternatively, the locative /a/ of *ní-za* could be understood adverbially, indicating the manner in which the action is to be performed (Attinger 1993, 169 §105c; Delnero 2006, 245). This interpretation lends itself to a literal translation such as “You should come on your own.” However, there is no obvious reason why *Ilak-ni'id* should be unaccompanied. Ali's suggestion

4. On the toponym Niqum, located in the middle Diyala region, see Röllig 1998–2001, 569–70. The tin and precious stones (ll. 14f.) fit with a journey eastward.

6. It is unclear here whether *bar-zu* (N15, N63) or *bar-za* (N75) is correct. The other attestations listed in PSD B 96 s.v. *bar A 1.5* are also ambiguous, although they seem to favor a reading with the locative, as does SEpM 6:10. While the PSD takes this passage metaphorically, “you have been checked, your ways have been corrected,” in light of what follows, the passage is best taken literally indicating that Šamaš-āṭb provided both provisions and planned a route for Ilak-ni’id. For *bar èn tar*, “to take care of (person or situation),” see SEpM 6:10. With *èn tar*, the classic construction is the locative-terminative but in these texts, as in the first verbal chain appearing here, *bí-in-tar*, the locative and locative-terminative are not strictly distinguished (Attinger personal communication).

7. For *anše-ġiš*, designating a collective of working plough donkeys, see Heimpel 1995, 87, 94. For the price of donkeys in Ur III, around four to seven shekels, see Lafont 2000, 208 w/n 7 with previous literature. The Old Babylonian prices listed in Schwenzner 1915, 111 range from five and one-half shekels for one donkey to 20 shekels. Here the *two* donkeys are only worth four shekels, which could argue for an Ur III setting, although it is questionable that the prices here are anything but random.

9. In Ur III administrative documents boat rentals are almost always contracted with barley or, occasionally, another comestible. Two exceptions, OrSp 47–49 149 and BIN 5 136, rent boats for 2 *gín* and 1/3 *ma-na lá* 1/3 *gín* silver. Prices for boat rentals given in Codex Hammurabi §§275ff. are considerably lower (Roth 1995, 131; Salonen 1942, 52f.). Given that the duration of this rental is perhaps intended to cover the length of Ilak-ni’id’s journey (1 month and 15 days), the total cost of the boat rental may be more in line with the prices specified in Hammurabi than with the much higher wages found in the two Ur III economic sources.

(1964, 127) to read *im-za* and translate “You should go/went on the day of your tablet” does not fit the context.

10. This line is problematic, and the number of variants attests to the problems the Babylonian scribes had with it as well. Ali (1964, 128) did not translate the object, commenting instead that while a translation such as “‘the wage of the guide of your boat...’” is tempting, “no such meaning for masu is attested nor do the variants (á-ma-zu, á-^{is}má-zu, á-ma-[, á-^{is}ma-zu for mas-su) support it.” Moreover, like its Sumerian equivalent, the Akkadian *massû*, “leader,” is said exclusively of gods and rulers (CAD M/I 327f.). For ma as an orthographic variant of má see the references in Ali 1964, 128 n. 10.

11. Although a si.g is a common Sumerian expression for “clean water,” (e.g. SEpM 10:16, 20:18) a literal interpretation does not fit the context of this passage. The sense seems to be “everything is cleared up,” referring to the commodities in ll. 7–10, which were already on hand for Ilak-ni’id’s journey. However, although *zakû* can have the meaning “to become free from specific claims or obligations,” such as those resulting from sale, already in OB, the lexical equivalent of si.g = *zakû*, is not attested until the first millennium.

13. Previously Ali 1964, 128 n. 13 and Waetzoldt 1972, 52 n. 121 proposed that da-gal-tum-ma is a loanword from Akkadian *takiltu*, “(a precious blue-purple wool).” However, *takiltu* is unattested before MB. da-gal-tum-ma occurs three times in OB lexical lists. Twice it modifies udu, where it cannot mean purple.⁸² Moreover, it does not occur among the entries for colors of sheep in Hh.⁸³ Instead it immediately precedes the entries for udu-bar-ġál, “sheep with fleece,” and udu-su-ga, “sheep without fleece,” suggesting that da-gal-tum-ma is also a qualification relating to the fleece.

The epistemic prefix ha-, of ha-ra-da-šid, conditions the following line, in which the main purpose of the letter is stated. For the sequence dative + comitative see Attinger 1993, 232.

14. According to an Ur III Nippur protocol (BE 3, 70) that set the silver: tin ratio at 1:14.5, the value of the silver in tin is here about 24

⁸² Copenhagen forerunner to Hh XIII obv col. ii 16’ (MSL 8/1 92); Nippur forerunner to Hh XIII 52 (MSL 8/1 84). The term occurs by itself—and not as a modifier—in OB Nippur Lu 819 (MSL 12, 63) but, of course, no Akkadian is given. Moreover, it is difficult to glean any meaning from its position in that list as it appears after a group of similarly ambiguous terminology and is followed by vocabulary built on the word *edin*, “steppe.”

⁸³ Nippur forerunner to Hh XIII 101–106 (MSL 8/1 85).

mina.⁸⁴ This is the only line in the text to use a real imperative form, in contrast to the *hé-* clauses used elsewhere, suggesting that l.14 is the central point of the letter and Ilak-ni'id's mission.

The number of variants found in all the manuscripts for this line indicates the problems of interpretation it caused for the Babylonian students. N15's omission of the subject, *kù*, further speaks to this scribe's lack of understanding of this text. The ending *-àm* suggests the scribe misunderstood the intended word and instead substituted the similar and (perhaps) more familiar term *nîg-sa₁₀-àm* for *nîg-sa₁₀-ma*. On the distinction between *nîg-sa₁₀-ma*, "merchandise, purchasing-capital; purchases" and *nîg-sa₁₀(-àm)*, "price," see Steinkeller 1989, 161f. The variant grammatical morphemes added to *ma-na*, none of which conform to the phraseology expected from Ur III sale documents,⁸⁵ demonstrate once more the troubles these scribes had with standard Ur III legal terminology.

15. This exact sequence of stones is attested in *Mīs Pī Ritual* tablet 6/8 ll. 37–8 (CT 17 39 ll. 48 and 50; ZA 45 14:27). They are further associated in other first millennium Akkadian sources, often in conjunction with lapis and in contexts which indicate that all three were used for cylinder seals (See the references cited CAD D 201, H 227, M/II 279). However, they are not associated in any of the lexical lists or in 3rd or 2nd millennium Sumerian sources.⁸⁶

For ^{na4}*du₈-ši-a* see most recently Schuster-Brandis 2008, 407–409. Proposals for this stone's identity include chlorite and steatite (e.g. Schuster-Brandis 2008, 407); rock crystal, agate (e.g. Archi 2003, 31f.), turquoise and topaz (e.g. de Maaijer and Jagersma 1997–1998, 280 s.v. **a-bi-za*). For ^{na4}*nir₇-igi* see Veldhuis 2004, 137; Schuster-Brandis 2008, 436f. Veldhuis argues that while van Dijk's identification (1983, 120) of this stone as chalcedony is unconfirmed, a white stone does fit the context in which it is used in NaBi. The color of the ^{na4}*nir₇-muš-ġir* stone is unclear. While the variants ^{na4}*nir₇-muš-sù-ud* in N15 and N77 are unattested, the ^{na4}*nir-ud-sud* is attested in the OB Nippur forerunner to Hh XVI 61a. (MSL 10, 56).

⁸⁴ Powell 1990, 85. This is roughly the same value that tin had in the OA merchant accounts where it was used for paying "small business expenses incurred in Anatolian trade" (Ibid.).

⁸⁵ Steinkeller 1989, 13–15.

⁸⁶ Although Cunningham (1997, 63) has identified Sumerian incantations related to the opening of the mouth ceremony in the Old Babylonian period (apud. Walker & Dick 2001, 18), parallel references to these stones do not occur.

16. For $\hat{g}\hat{e}\hat{s}tug_2 \hat{g}\hat{a}l$ see Kienast and Volk 1995, 34:16f.

17. The sequence *ha-ra-ab-...hu-mu-ra-ab-* occurs once more in Gudam 44.⁸⁷ The reverse *hu-mu-ra-ab-...ha-ra-ab-* is found in IšD B 46 and Hammurabi B 7. OBG T VI ll. 39 and 43 (MSL 4 80) understand *ha-ra-ab-* as an imperative and *hu-mu-ra-ab-* as a precative, however this distinction does not seem to hold in our passage or those parallel to it.

Instead, it is well established that the *mu-* prefix comes primarily with transitive, often *marû* verbs, frequently with dative referents (see Falkenstein 1949 and most recently Delnero 2010c), which suggests the translation “Your additional silver has been placed at your disposal and shall be recorded on a tablet for you.” In this case, the first epistemic *ha-* clause conditions the second deontic *ha-* clause.

One of the primary purposes of this letter may have been to practice the various uses of the *ha-* prefix, which occurs in 6 of the 12 finite forms. In each case, the verbs appear to be in the 3rd person although it occurs in contexts in which the 2nd or 1st person is expected. Such forms would perhaps be expected according to Ur III letter order conventions, were it not for the repeated use of correct 1st and 2nd person verbal infixes (dative *-ma-* and *-ra-* for instance) and suffix pronouns. Moreover, while I have chosen to translate some as *marû* and some as *hamtu*, given the context, there is nothing in the infix chains themselves to indicate which aspect was intended.

18. This line appears to be a re-statement of the message in l. 5. Of note is the contrast in the construction of the verbal forms. Line 5, *na-ma-tùm*, uses the dative first person infix *ma-*. In contrast this line, *hé-em-tùm*, uses the ventive /m/ as in Akkadian to express the same meaning.

⁸⁷ *ama-zu anše ha-ra-ab-huġ-c bara₂ al hu-mu-ra-ab-bé*, “Let your mother hire a donkey for you, let her demand a sack for you” (Alster 2004).

SEpM 18. Lugal-nesaĝe to Enlil-massu (B16, 3.3.9)

1. ^{md}en-líl-mas-su inim dūg ad gi₄ sag₉ kag lál inim ġun-ġun-ra ù-na-a-dug₄
2. dumu diġir-ra-ni-ir ġub-ba a-a ama-ni ní tèġ-ġe₂₆-ra
3. ù-na-dè-tah
4. ^dalad₂ ^dlamma diġir kal-la-ġu₁₀ ulutim₂ alan zíl-zíl-i
5. me-te nam-dub-sar-ra
6. hé-du₇ é-gal-la ur-saġ šà-tam-e-ne á áġ ki-bi gi₄
7. šà lugal-la-na dūg-dūg-ge-ra ù-na-dè-peš
8. ^mlugal-nesaġ-e nu-èš ^den-líl-lá lú zú bir₉ lugal-la
9. dumu ^den-líl-al-sag₉ um-mi-a nibru^{ki}-a ad-da-zu na-ab-bé-a
10. ud taka₄-en-na-zu ba-hu-hu-bu-uš-en
11. šà-ġu₁₀ mu-da-šub enmen₂ šà-ġar-ġu₁₀ ba-tur
12. nam-zu íb-ġu₇-en i-si-iš-zu íb-si-ge-en
13. mah-zu íb-sur-re-en
14. bar-saġ₅-zu íb-tíl-en
15. lib bar ak-ġu₁₀-ta šu ba-dag
16. ġeštug₂ šà-ġu₁₀-ta lib ba-ġar
17. ní te-te-ġu₁₀-ta šà-ġu₁₀ úš lugud ba-si
18. èn tar-tar-re-dè zi ba-ír
19. ki nam tar-ra-šè nu-ub-da-ġen-na-aš
20. dug₄-ga ^den-líl-lá-ta mùš-me-zu igi hé-bí-íb-du₈

⁽¹⁾Say to Enlil-massu, the one of sweet words and good advice, mellifluous mouth of charming utterances. ⁽³⁾Repeat ⁽²⁾to the son who serves his god, who respects his father and mother. ⁽⁷⁾Say for a third time to ⁽⁴⁾the alad-spirit, the protective spirit, my precious god, whose countenance and shape are pleasing, ⁽⁵⁾epitome of the scribal art, ⁽⁶⁾ornament of the palace, hero of the šatam officials, who reinstates commands, ⁽⁷⁾who always pleases the heart of his king.

⁽⁸⁻⁹⁾Thus says Lugal-nesaġe, the nu'èš priest of Enlil, who makes his king laugh, son of Enlil-alsag, ummia of Nippur, your father:

⁽¹⁰⁾When you abandoned me, you completely crushed me. ⁽¹¹⁾My heart sank, I lost the taste for food and drink.⁸⁸ ⁽¹²⁾Your very being consumed

⁸⁸ Lit: "My thirst and hunger diminished."

me, your mockery overwhelmed me. ⁽¹³⁾Your arrogance shattered me, ⁽¹⁴⁾your insult finished me off. ⁽¹⁵⁾Despite my attentiveness, I have been abandoned. ⁽¹⁶⁾Despite my wisdom and (good) intentions, tranquility eluded (me). ⁽¹⁷⁾Despite my reverence, blood and pus filled my heart. ⁽¹⁸⁾Making inquiries has become too troublesome.

⁽¹⁹⁾As long as I have not gone to my (ultimate) fate, ⁽²⁰⁾may your countenance look (upon me) in accordance with Enlil's command.

Commentary

1. For *inim gùn-gùn*, Akkadian *kuzzubu*, see Ludwig 1990, 197 with previous literature and Peterson 2007, 600f. w/n 2329. *inim gùn-gùn* is entered in CAD K 617 s.v. *kuzzubu*, “to fawn, flatter (with words), to wag the tail.” With *inim* (the reading of which is assured by the gloss -e in Samsuiluna A 32) the sense is probably closer to *kuzzubu* “luxuriant, full of charm” as in Ludwig (Attinger personal communication).

2. This line repeats the same basic sign shapes, using variations of KAL and ALAN.

6. I follow the original interpretation here (contra Jaques 2006, 20 who reads šà zalag-e-dè), as I believe this better fits the context of the line. Moreover, zalag-e is rare, one would expect instead zalag-ge.

8f. On the personal names used in this letter see Chapter 2.4.1.

On the role of the nu'eš priest, associated primarily with the Ekur in Nippur, see most recently Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003–2005, 630f. For the reading *bir*₉ and semantic range of *zú bir*₉ see Jaques 2006, 70ff. and 593f. For *lú zú bir*₉ *lugal-la*, literally: “qui est le rire de son roi,” see Ibid. 375 n. 803. On the title *um-mi-a*, used in reference to especially learned scribes see Volk 2000, 9 w/n 50, where he suggests that the title was earned after a certain age or a certain number of years in the field.

10. That *taka₄-en-na-zu* is a rare case of a finite form without a prefix chain see Attinger 1993, 194 with previous literature and Römer 2000. Although this phenomenon is more common with *marû* bases, the variant *ì-* in Ur8 argues in its favor.

The form *hu-hu-bu-uš*, in the second part of the line, is otherwise unattested (but compare *ba-hu-hu-bu-dè* in Charpin 1992, 13: rev. 6' and comm p. 17). For *hu-hu-bu-uš* AK, a loan from Akkadian *habāšum*, see PSD A/III p. 128 lex. 170 and Attinger 1995, 225. Perhaps the initial gemination was used for emphasis or intensification.

11. Translation of this line follows Woods 2008, 292 ex. 654.

12ff. Lines 12–14 and lines 15–17 form two units. Lines 12–14 are constructed of a series of clauses noun-zu íb-ROOT-en, “your X did Y to me.” The Akkadian equivalents that Ur2 and UET 7 94⁸⁹ provide for these lines always gloss the noun. Lines 15–17 form a second unit marked by a series of nominal clauses ending in the ablative postposition -ta followed by a series of verbs conjugated as ba-ROOT, “in place of my X, I have become Y.” The cohesiveness of this unit is illustrated by the Akkadian translations, which contra to ll.12–14, always gloss the verb.

12. UET 7 94 glosses NAM and i-si-iš as *sihtum*, “laughter.” Although the Akkadian term has positive connotations, here the sense must be of mockery or derision. Because of this translation, Civil (2009, 67) reads bir₅ for NAM as a potential variant of zú bír, “to laugh.” This, however, seems an odd choice in light of l. 8, which uses bir₉. As such, I follow the original understanding of the line.

13. UET 7 94 glosses mah with *šuqum*, “high,” suggesting a translation such as “your arrogance,” or perhaps even more literary, “high (status).”

14. For the gloss, *tuppulum*, in Ur2 and UET 7 94 used nominally compare e.g. the OB letter AbB 11 139. I cannot explain the addition of TA.LA in Ur2 or the variant bar-TE-ġá in X22.

15. For lib bar ak see Attinger 1995, 235, and note the gloss *puqu* in UET 7 94, even if the scribe got the Sumerian wrong, reading ní bar (Civil 2009, 67). The non-Nippur versions of this line have ki-ġu₁₀-ta. For /ke/ as a form of the *marû* non-conjugated participle of ak see Attinger 1995, 62. For šu dag see most recently Sjöberg 1998, 355f.; Karahashi 2000, 152–54; Mittermayer 2009, 304.

16. In other words, “tranquility is far from my mind and my heart.” I have chosen a more liberal translation in order to account for the parallelism in lines 15–17. This interpretation follows Attinger (personal communication). For lib ġar see Krecher 1966, 182f. and LUr 99 in which lib ġar is clearly something positive. It is unclear why three of the six manuscripts (N102, Ur2, X22) omit this line.

⁸⁹ Ch. 6.3; Civil 2009.

17. The manuscripts for this line offer a number of variants. Instead of -ta, the Ur texts add the suffix pronominal element -ne. The -ga in X22 is best understood as a miscopied -ta. Ur2 and X22 have *lugud₂*, an unusual orthographic variant. *lugud* occurs in three other literary texts, always preceded by *úš*. In all the manuscripts attested for these texts (SgLeg B 10, Inana C 45 and Ninisina A 20), as well as in the lexical entry in MSL 12 185:22, *lugud* is never written *lugud₂*.

The image is similar to that in SgLeg B 10 in which Ur-Zababa finds blood and pus in his urine (*šà-ba úš lugud si-a-ba*), an indication of his fear. The idea here seems to be the same.

18. In other words, despite his best efforts, Lugal-nesaĝe's situation has not improved. For an alternate interpretation see Woods 2008, 238 ex. 453.

19. This line contains a number of variants. The Ur manuscripts leave out the terminative postposition. Instead, Ur2 has *ki nam tar-ka*, "into the place of destiny" while Ur8 has only *ki nam tar-ra*. X22, *ki nam tar-re-NE*, seems to have made the verb into a conjugated participle. The variant in Ur2, *nu-ub-da-ĝá*, is a direct translation of the Akkadian gloss, *la aš-š[a²-ka-an]*, "until I have been permanently placed." *ĝá* must be a phonetic variant for *ĝar*.

SEpM 19. Inanaka to Nintinuga (B17, 3.3.10)

1. ^dnin-tin-ug₃-ga agrig zid é-kur-ra
2. a-zu kalam-ma-ra ù-na-dug₄
3. nin tu₆ dug₄-ga-ni ùĝ šár ti-le
4. mu₇-mu₇-ma-ni ùĝ sag₉-ga
5. nin šà-ne-ša₄ lú ti-ti šùd-dè ki áĝ-ra
6. šà gur-ru šà-lá sug₄ a-ra-zu ĝiš tuku-ĝu₁₀-úr
7. ù-na-dè-tah
8. ti-la ug₅-ga èn tar-bi za-e-me-en
9. lú-kud-lú-kud-ba du₇-du₇ gal-bi-me-en
10. ^{md}inana-ka dumu-munus ^den-líl-á-mah
11. geme₂-zu na-ab-bé-a
12. kí-nú šub-ba-ĝu₁₀-da 2-kam-ma-bi
13. ú-u₈-a-u₈-a al-ĝen-na-ĝu₁₀ a-rá-bi nu-zu
14. nin-ĝu₁₀ é ma-an-dù-ma igi lá-bi ba-tuš-en
15. zu-a kal-la-ĝu₁₀ ĝiri₃ kúr mu-da-an-dab₅-bé-eš
16. lú èn tar-re la-ba-an-tuku
17. im-ma-si im-ma-diri-ga-ta
18. zi al-ir-ir-re-en
19. tukum-bi nin-ĝá an-na-kam
20. á-sàg su-ĝá ĝál-la su-ĝá hé-eb-ta-an-zìg
21. ki-in-DU nam-ti-la-ka ĝiri₃-ĝu₁₀ hé-bí-ib-gub-bé
22. ù ĝe₂₆-e geme₂-ni hé-me-en
23. é-a-ni kisal-luh-bi hé-me-en igi-ni-šè ga-gub
24. ù-ba-sa₆-ge nin-ĝu₁₀ lú-ku₅-da du₇-du₇
25. mu-šè ga-an-sa₄

(²)Say (¹)to Nintinuga, efficacious steward of the Ekur, (²)physician of the homeland; (⁷)Repeat to (³)the lady whose incantations cure the populace, (⁴)whose spell has healed the people, (⁵)to the compassionate lady, reviver of persons, lover of prayer; (⁶)to the relenting, the merciful, who hears my petitions; (⁸)You care for the living and the dead, (⁹)great healer of cripples. (¹⁰⁻¹¹)Thus says Inanaka, daughter of Enlil-amah, your servant:

(¹²)Having taken to bed for the second time,⁹⁰ (¹³)I went through much woe and I do not know its course. (¹⁴)My lady, someone built a house for me, but I can only sit furtively. (¹⁵)My acquaintances and dear ones

⁹⁰ Literally: “With my being thrown to bed for the second time.”

have abandoned me. ⁽¹⁶⁾I have no one who inquires about me. ⁽¹⁷⁾Since it is enough for me, too much for me, ⁽¹⁸⁾I am truly desperate.

⁽¹⁹⁾If it is my lady's will, ⁽²⁰⁾may she cause the asag demon that is in my body to be torn out of my flesh. ⁽²¹⁾May she stand my feet on the path of life. ⁽²²⁾Furthermore, as I am her servant ⁽²³⁾(and) the courtyard sweeper of her temple, I will serve her, ⁽²⁴⁻²⁵⁾(and) as soon as I am well, I will name my lady, "healer of cripples."

Commentary

1. For Nintinuga, the manifestation of the healing goddess connected particularly with the cult of Enlil and Ninlil at Nippur see Edzard 1998–2001, 506; see also Römer 2003, 245 for further references.

6. šà gur-ru, literally "one who turns the heart," is indicative of reconciliation and relenting (Jaques 2006, 241ff., 559f.). The sequence of epithets used in this line occur in the same order in the letter of Kug-Nanna to Ninšubur Seg. A 12:

^dnin-šubur diġir šà-lá sù šùd a-ra-zu ġiš tuku ù-ne-dè-tah

"repeat to Nin-šubur, merciful god, hearer of prayers and petitions"

10. For interpretation of the name ^dinana-ka see Römer 2003, 246. On the historical Inanaka, daughter of Enlil-amah, attested in the Ur III Nippur Inana temple archives see Hallo 1972, 92; Zettler 1984, 6; 1992, 203.

12. The meaning of this line is suggested by Lugale 584. Embedded within a recounting of the horrible destiny that awaits the ^{na4}ša-ga-ra stone, is the following:

ki-nú-za hé-bí-šub-bé

"You will be thrown onto your bed!"

Lines 585ff. continue that no one will tell the stone to "get up," no one will miss it, and no one will complain about its loss. As such, the šagara stone's destiny is similar to the complaints Inanaka makes in ll. 14–16. It is tempting to speculate that ki-nú šub was a euphemism for a particular ailment, perhaps loneliness or isolation, resulting in the consequences described in Lugale 585ff. and in this letter.

This interpretation is very different from previous editors, yet adheres more closely to the literal Sumerian. Römer 2003, 247 follows

Ali in understanding *šub* as *ezēbu*, “to leave.” However, evidence for this reading comes only from a first millennium commentary.⁹¹ For the comitative postposition *-da* denoting simultaneous action, “while,” see the references given by Römer 2003, 247.

17. Römer 2003, 244 assumes an underlying subject *ša* and translates “da (mein Herz) voll ist, weil es übertoll ist.” Similar sentiment is expressed in NMS 138 and Edubba B 64f.

21. For *ki-in-DU* see Volk 1995, 162f.; Attinger and Krebernik 2005, 67.⁹² The variant in Ur10, *ki nam-DU*, “the place of standing,” gives further indication of the meaning intended. Böck and Römer read *ki-in-gub*. The reading *gub*, however, is not certain; *udug-hul* forerunner l. 247 reads *ki-in-du* while the parallel l. 367 reads *ki-in-da*, and see also Veldhuis 2008, 43 D iv 11–15 and comm. p. 49.

⁹¹ CAD E, 416: ŠUB // *na-du-u* // ŠUB // *e-ze-bi* (CT 41 44:14 = Theodicy commentary). Moreover, Römer 2003, 247 cites a number of passages in which he believes *šub* has this meaning. However, in these cases, the translation “to fall” fits the context as well. See for instance LN 99: *uru₂-bi uru₂ šub-ba im-ma-ni-in-ku₄-ra-àm*, in which a translation “He turned that city into a fallen city” expresses the same sentiment as Tinney’s “That city he turned into a city neglected.”

⁹² For a different interpretation see Ludwig 1990, 201 n. 477 where she understands *ki-in-gub* as a variant for *ki-gub/ki-lugal-gub*, a physical location as in IŠD A 81, ŠA 56.

SEpM 20. Dedication of a Dog to Nintinuga (B18, 5.7.2)

1. ^mlugal-nesagê-e dumu zu-zu um-mi-a nibru^{ki}-ke₄
2. tu₆-ni-lú-sag₉ ur kíĝ-gi₄-a-ka-ni ^dnin-tin-ug₅-ga-ra mu-na-an-dím
3. nam-bi-šè ur-e nin-a-ni-ir kun mu-na-ab-gùn-gùn šeg₁₁ mu-na-ab-gi₄
4. nin an ki-bi šukur₂ šúm-ma agrig ^den-líl-lá
5. akan^{a-ka-an} dūg kur-kur šà si-si nam-hé-a de₆-de₆-e
6. á-sàg sim_x-ma šà-bi bar ak ĝiri₃-pa_x-rá igi bar-re
7. sa nam-ti-la sa nam-úš-a-ka igi saĝ₅-saĝ₅ níĝ-keše₂-bi sa₆-ge
8. níĝ ra-ah-a du₁₁-ga zi ir-ra ki-gig-bi zu-zu
9. a-zu sa₆-ge šim-mú dú-ra-ta šà lú-ulu₃ igi du₈
10. nin-ĝu₁₀ mu-un-dím-en-na
11. tu₆-ni-lú-sag₉ mu-šè mu-un-sa₄
12. x ba-an-sa₆-ga mu-šè mu-sa₄-a
13. [X]-ga-DI zi-pa-âĝ ù-mu-ni-[X X] á-/sàg\ zi ba-an-/da\-[X]
14. mu-ĝu₁₀ mu-zu-ta im-da-an-pàd
15. nam-gur₄-ra-zu ki-zu ì-kíĝ-ĝe₂₆
16. tu₆-ni-lú-sag₉ mu-šè mu-un-sa₄⁹³
17. u₄ ti-la-ĝá igi hu-mu-un-du₈
18. u₄ ba-úš-en kur-ra a si-ga hu-mu-un-na₈-na₈

(¹)Lugal-nesagê, son of Zuzu, ummia of Nippur, (²)fashioned Tunī-lusag, his canine emissary, for Nintinuga. (³)To this end, the dog wags its tail at its mistress and barks at her:

(⁴)“Mistress, who provided sustenance in heaven and earth, steward of Enlil, (⁵)sweet breast, satisfying all the lands, bringing abundance, (⁶)scrutinizing the intentions of the wounding asag-demon, the one who examines the bones, (⁷)sorting the sinews of life (and) the sinews of death, the one who makes bandages beautiful, (⁸)who knows those diseases exacerbated by wounds and deep afflictions, (⁹)the healing physician, šimmu priest to the sick, observing the entrails of mankind,

(¹⁰)My mistress, who fashioned me, (¹¹)my name is Tunī-lusag. (¹²)After it (= the disease) had healed, I was so named.

⁹³ X11 adds: ma-an-sa₆-ga mu-šè mu-sa₄-a-me-en.

⁽¹³⁾(But) when...the throat, the asag-demon... (my) life. ⁽¹⁴⁾My name is invoked alongside your name! ⁽¹⁵⁾I seek your strength! ⁽¹⁶⁾I am called Tuni-lusag!”⁹⁴

⁽¹⁷⁾As long as I live may I be regarded (with benevolence). ⁽¹⁸⁾When I die, may I drink clear water in the netherworld.

Commentary

2. The name tu₆-ni-lú-sag₉, “her spell heals a person,” is fitting for a dog meant to intercede before a healing goddess on his master’s behalf (compare Ninisina A 37; Cavigneaux and Krebern timer 1998–2001b). The association between the healing goddess and the dog is well attested.⁹⁵ Bronze and clay figurines of dogs are especially common in first millennium contexts, most notably in the Gula temple in Isin,⁹⁶ where they served as ex-votive offerings.⁹⁷ Although many are not inscribed, a small handful of dedicatory inscriptions are attested on such figurines.⁹⁸ For animal figurines named in their inscriptions see, e.g., Braun-Holzinger 1991, 327 (T14) and 328 (T18).

3. The expression kun gùn is attested elsewhere only in the late lexical list Antagal III 267 (MSL 17, 160) and in a bilingual proverb collection from the Assurbanipal libraries (BWL 229:30). In both instances kun gùn is equated with Akkadian *kuzzubu*, “to fawn, to flatter (with words), to wag the tail.” Although these attestations are first millennium, this seems to be the meaning intended here.⁹⁹ The variant in

⁹⁴ X11 adds: After she healed me (lit: after having been good to me), it is I who was named thus!

⁹⁵ See Heimpel 1972–1975, 496f.; Herles 2006, 208f.; Attinger 2008, 60.

⁹⁶ Braun-Holzinger 1984, 90f. In particular, Nos. 298–300.03 and 312, are dog figurines found at Isin and Nippur that can be dated to the OB and Kassite periods.

⁹⁷ Braun-Holzinger 1991, 322. See for instance the terracotta dog from from Kassite period Isin with an inscription to Gula specifying the reason for the dedication: *ik-ri-bi-i-šu iš-m[e]*, “she heard his prayer.” (Wilcke 1977, 90 E 8 (IB 18); Braun-Holzinger 1991, 2 n. 13). Although such figurines do not become common until Kassite period Isin, clear references that consecration gifts were made out of thanks for a prayer granted are attested already in the early second millennium (Ibid., 2).

⁹⁸ Braun-Holzinger 1991, 7. For inscribed dog figurines dating to the OB period see Braun-Holzinger 1991, 328 T17, T18, T19. T17 is a dog dedicated to Ninisina by one Enlil-ennam on behalf of Bur-Suen, king of Isin. T18 (= RIME 4.2.7.2001), found at Tello, is similarly dedicated to Ninisina, here by Abba-duga, the Lumah priest, on behalf of Sumuel, king of Ur. T19 is unpublished. For other periods see the references listed in Braun-Holzinger 1984, 90ff. and Edzard 1998–2001, 506.

⁹⁹ For kun gùn see now Peterson 2007, 592 and 599ff. Compare the expression kas₄ gùn in Shulgi A 73, which expresses the action of running. Cooper (personal com-

X11, mu-un-na-ab-sì-ge, “he fashions it for her,” repeats the sentiment of line 2.

4. Elsewhere the epithet nin agrig ^den-líl-lá is always modified by zid, as in SEpM 17:1: ^dnin-tin-ug₃-ga agrig zid é-kur-ra. For the epithet šukur₂ sum see IŠD B 14 and Ninisina E 18, 26.

5. The reading of the sign DAG.KISIM₅*GA is provided by the gloss a-ka-an in N5. Because of the lack of glosses or Akkadian translations in most Sumerian texts, it is unclear whether the choice of akan in our text should be unexpected.¹⁰⁰ The preference for the reading ubur (Akk: *tulû*) in many modern editions of Sumerian literary texts seems to be based only on the more frequent attestation of the Akkadian *tulû* than *sirtu*, the translation given for the reading akan (Ea IV 60, Aa VIII/4:181–182).¹⁰¹ However, the use of the gloss here may in fact support the rarity of this word.

6. The á-sàg demon is more commonly characterized as gig-ga, “virulent,” cf. Geller UHF 799; Sin-iddinam to Utu 28. In several texts, however, he is described as being capable of inflicting wounds, e.g. Lugale 177:

ki-a su bí-íb-dar sim_x-ma bí-íb-ġar

(the asag demon) tore the flesh of the Earth and covered her with painful wounds

munication) suggests that in such instances ġun refers to quick repetitive movements, in our example of the tail moving rapidly through the air causing sparks of color. This is similar to the action behind the verb kun sud, in which sud also seems to describe rapid, repetitive motion (Peterson 2004; 2007, 592, 597–600).

Peterson argued that kun sud, the well attested verb for “to wag the tail” is used primarily to represent a state of arousal, characterizing an animal’s aggressive physical behavior, as in anticipation of a fight. It is also attested expressing the poplar opposite of this state—an animal in a state of relaxation. kun ġun may have been used in place of kun sud to represent a third state in which a dog would wag his tail not included in the semantic range of kun sud; namely that of a dog’s happiness at seeing his master.

¹⁰⁰ PSD A/III 132 sv. akan lists several passages whose text editors prefer the reading ubur (e.g. Lipit-Ištar D 6, SP 2.59, for which there are no variants or glosses in any manuscript of either text to support one reading over the other).

¹⁰¹ Moreover, the semantic range of *tulû*, “breast,” is much wider. While *sirtu* refers specifically to the nipple and occurs only in the contexts of suckling, *tulû* has this meaning as well. That ubur can be used for suckling is made explicit by SEpM 7:18 where N68 resumes the /r/ auslaut in the form ubur-ra-gin₇. Moreover EnlSud l. 5, in a passage referring to suckling, has DAG.KISIM₅*GA translated in the bilingual version as [*l*]u-le-e.

Thus, the appearance of an á-sàg sim_x-ma, “wounding asag” in this text is consistent with at least some aspects of this demon. Other examples include the Letter Nanna-mansum to Ninisina 6–7 and Ninisina A 21. The demon’s ability to wound, coupled with the reference to ġiri₃-pa_x-rá igi bar-re, “examining the bones,” emphasizes that Nintinuga can heal both external and internal ailments.

7. The oblique marker on the logical direct object, -a or -e, renders the translation ambiguous. To select one thing from another, we would expect -ta as in ŠV 16: ùġ-ta igi saġ₅-ġá, “selected from among the people.” As such the notion of sorting between the two seems to have intended. Alternatively, igi saġ₅ can be “to inspect, verify” for which see Schramkamp 2008, 680. In general, see most recently Waetzoldt 2010. níġ-kéš, “bandage,” was discussed already by Sjöberg 1991, 221 l. 15’ (comm. p. 223). The idea here is “the one who knows how to properly dress a wound.”

8. For níġ-ra-ah, translated by *šimmī*, “my wound,” see Civil 2010, 158, 12: 24f.

níġ dug₄-ga is translated by *dāku* in the SB list of diseases l. 125 (MSL 9 94) and further references provided by Attinger 1993, 627 §680, written both with and without níġ. For ki-giġ “disease” see Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1995, 35. This is to be distinguished from ki giġ-ga, “location of a disease” for which see Schwemer 2009, 50 l. 9 and comm. p. 55.

9. On the role of the šim-mú priest, especially as the purification and incantation priest of Ninisina and Nintinugga, see Geller 1985, 92f.; Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003–2005, 619; Ceccarelli 2009, 36f. I cannot explain the -ta in dú-ra-ta.

13. Civil 1969, 180 suggests either zi ba-an-/da\-[gi₄] “et l’asakku s’apaisera” or zi ba-an-/da\-[ir] “et l’asakku sera plein de peur.” However, Karahashi 2000 176ff. demonstrates that zi ir and zi gi₄ describe emotional states. Something more forceful better fits the context.

15. For the semantic range of ki kíġ see Veldhuis 2004, 139 and the references collected by Michalowski 1989, 71f. This seems to be the only attestation in which the semantic object is metaphorical. The idea is that Lugal-nesaġe seeks Nintinuga’s power to heal.

SEpM 21. Inim-Inana to Enlil-massu (B19, 3.3.11)

1. ^{md}en-líl-mas-su ù-na-dug₄
2. ^minim-^dinana-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a
3. inim na-me ma-an-ne-eš-ma LUL.AŠ ba-húl-en
4. ^dlamma ud-ti-la a-kal-la lugal-šú
5. na<-bi>-^den-líl ù ^den-líl-al-sag₉
6. um-mi-a ŠU.IGI.DU-zu-ne
7. ^dnin-imma₃ diĝir-zu
8. ù ^dnidaba nín ĝeštug₂ daĝal-la-ke₄
9. geštug₂ ha-ra-ab-šúm-mu-ne
10. níĝ im-ma im-sar-re-a
11. iri šu-bi nu-gi₄ al-me-a nu-e-zu-ù
12. 2 gín kug-babbar 1 túg 2 ^{úg}bar-sig₉
13. lú-gi-na šu mu-ra-tak₄-tak₄ šu ti-ba-ab
14. ha-la da₁₃-da₁₃ ama-zu šu nam-bí-te-en-tèĝ
15. a-ma-ru-kam

(¹)Say to Enlil-massu, (²)thus says Inim-Inana:

(³)Everything they told me made me very happy.¹⁰²

(⁹)May (⁴)Lamma, Ud-tila, Akala, Lugal-šu, (⁵)Na<bi>-Enlil and Enlil-alsag, (⁶)scholars who preceded you, (⁷)Nin-imma, your goddess and (⁸)Nidaba, lady of broad wisdom, (⁹)give you wisdom.

(¹⁰)Regarding what was written on the tablet, (¹¹)did you not know it's the case that the city does not settle accounts?

(¹²⁻¹³)Lu-gina is sending you 2 shekels of silver, 1 garment and 2 shawls. Take them! (¹⁴)(But) your mother should not take the remainder of the inheritance. (¹⁵)It is urgent!

Commentary

3. The indefinite pronoun na-me does not occur elsewhere modifying inim. However, see for instance ARM 3 18:5 *awatam mimma lemuttam ešme*, “I heard something bad” (CAD M/II 78). Whether inim na-me here refers to something in particular that Inim-Inana was told, or

¹⁰² Literally: They spoke every word to me and I have become very happy.

anything that Inim-Inana heard, is unclear. Elsewhere, when na—me modifies níĝ (the closest parallel to inim), translation of “everything” as opposed to “anything” or “something” seems to be based only on editorial predilection.

For the problem of the reading and meaning of LUL, “much,” see SEpM 15:7. Jaques 2006, 449 n. 976 interprets LUL as *sarru* + a + eš(e) (= adverb of manner) and translates “Ils m’ont dit chaque parole et (je me suis mensongèrement réjoui =) j’ai fait semblant de me réjouir.” While this might fit the context in this laconic missive, it does not fit the use of LUL.AŠ in SEpM 15:7.

Woods (2008, 295) cites this line and a parallel expression in an OAKk letter, *áš-má-ma ah-tá-dú*, in order to demonstrate an inherent perfect nuance to actions constructed with the prefix ba-. As such, the verbal suffix -en in N55 must be correct, representing the first person subject of the intransitive *hamtu* verb. Although the variant -e for -en is uncommon writings such *bí-in-túm-mu* for *bí-in-túm-me-en* do occur (EJN 25; see also Attinger 1993, 222 n. 513; Delnero 2006, 576).

4f. I follow Ali in assuming that Lamma, Ud-tila, and Akala were three separate persons. ETCSL reads Lamma as the personal good-luck genie of that name and *u₄ til-la-a kal-le* as her epithet. Given that this epithet is otherwise unattested in Sumerian literature and that the other names in lines 4 and 5 are clearly those of persons—in contrast to the gods named in lines 7 and 8—I interpret Lamma as an element of a personal name.

Ali was troubled by the lack of a *Personenkeil* before Lamma. This is perhaps not surprising given that the manuscripts are not consistent on the use of the *Personenkeil* in the following line, although we might have expected N56 to use the *Personenkeil* consistently throughout his text. For Lugal-šú see Ch. 2.4.1. For Na<bi>-Enlil see Chapter 2.4.3.

6. For the rare use ŠU.IGI.DU in Sumerian literary texts see the discussion in Ludwig 1990, 51 n. 124 but note its more frequent use in Ur III accounts. Although the lexical equivalent, *mahra*, is attested only in the first millennium, a translation “before, earlier,” best fits the context for all occurrences of this term.

10. For im = *tuppu* “tablet” as opposed to the more common *dub* see SEpM 17:17.

11. For al-me-a compare ANL 9:15, Dialogue 2:55, Dialogue 3:175.

12f. That N55 omits ll. 12–13 suggests the scribe did not understand their relevance to the overall message. While it is also possible that the omission was simply a mechanical error, the number of other mistakes in N55 (especially the omission of the verbal root in the first finite verb of line 11!) indicates that the variants within this manuscript resulted from incorrect or alternate interpretation of the text (Delnero 2006, 1851).

13. For Lu-gina see Ch. 2.4.2. s.v. Lu-Suena.

SEpM 22. Inim-Inana to Lugal-ibila (B20, 3.3.12)

1. ^mlugal-ibila ù-na-dug₄
2. ^minim-^dinana-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a
3. eme-gir₁₅-šè gú-zu na-ab-šub-bé-en
4. 2-kam-ma-šè eme si sá-bi-šè lú mu-e-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄
5. lú-tur igi-zu-šè al-durun-ù-na
6. é-dub-ba-a-ta na-ab-ta-è-en
7. na-an-ga-ma lú na-me lul i-ri-ib-sì-ke
8. ugu ad-da-na-šè ga-àm-ġen a-ra-ab-bé
9. en-na ġiškim ġe₂₆-e ù za-e KA ì-bal-en-da-na
10. lú mu-e-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄
11. lú-tur šu nam-bí-bar-re-en
12. [x x (x)]¹⁰³-ma bí-tuku a-ma-ru-kam¹⁰⁴

⁽¹⁾Say to Lugal-ibila, ⁽²⁾thus says Inim-Inana:

⁽³⁾Do not neglect Sumerian! ⁽⁴⁾For the second time, I am sending you a message in the proper language.

⁽⁵⁻⁶⁾Do not let the children seated before you leave school. ⁽⁷⁾Moreover, should someone try to deceive you ⁽⁸⁾saying to you “I want to go” on the authority of his father, ⁽⁹⁾until you and I have discussed the proper time ⁽¹⁰⁾(and/or) I send someone to you (with the OK), ⁽¹¹⁾do not let any of the kids go! ⁽¹²⁾You are responsible for...¹⁰⁵ It is urgent!

Commentary

3. This exhortation is attested elsewhere in the scribal literature, for which see the references collected in Sjöberg 1972, 128. Here it is somewhat ironic, turned on the teacher and not the student.

7. For lul sì see Civil 2000a, 109; Gadotti 2005, 533; Lämmerhirt 2010, 288. The variant sa₆-ge in N24 suggests a misunderstanding on

¹⁰³ Although Civil 2000a, 108 restores [silim], N79, at least, has room in the break for at least two signs.

¹⁰⁴ Variant (X4): [l]ú-tur silim-ma-ni ad-da-[a?-ni?] KA-za-in-tuku.

¹⁰⁵ Variant (X4): “his father has entrusted the welfare of the child to you (lit: in your mouth).” I have restored this line following that preserved in the late period redaction of this letter, the letter of Lugal-ibila to Lugal-nesage line 21, for which see Civil 2000a, 109ff.

the part of this scribe, but without the first part of the line it is impossible to know what he intended.

8. For the neologism ugu...(-ak)-šè/a see most recently Huber 2001, 171–175.

9. While Civil 2000a, 109 reads ka bal here, the variant KA-ma in N81 argues in favor of inim bal. OB lexical text YBC 9869 iii 27, however, contains the entry for KA bal in the section of compounds formed with the KA sign read /ka/ (Michalowski 1978, 117). To reflect the likelihood of different readings in different schools or regions, I read KA here.

ANL Introductory Remarks

Published here are the nine (of twelve) ANL letters to which I had access. I was not able to look at the one unpublished manuscript of ANL 5, and so I have not included this letter. In addition, identification of X25 (MS 2287) came to my attention too late for inclusion. ANL 7 will thus be published later, in a forthcoming collection of Sumerian literary tablets in the Schøyen Collection. Finally, ANL 2 also will appear separately.

Several other tablets came to my attention as possible Nippur letters, CBS 12651, Ni 2331 (SLTN 139), as well as two compositions found on the large compilation tablet N70 (Ni 3023+) and one on X18 (VAT 9157) with partial duplicate UM 29-16-10. However, study of these fragments does not give any certain indication that they are letters.¹⁰⁶ For that reason, they are not published in this collection.

ANL 1. Gudea to His God (3.3.20)

1. diġir-ġá ù-na-dug₄
2. ^mġù-dé-a arad-zu na-ab-bé-a
3. udu-ġin₇ sipad ġi-na nu-tuku
4. na-gada ġi-na nu-mu-un-túm-túm-mu
5. dam-ġàr saġ dù-dù nu-zu bal-šè mu-e-ni-ak
6. anše-ġin₇ ^{kuš}usan₃ hul-ġál-la hul-ġál-la bí-in-[x]
7. saġ ì-tuku inim nu-um-me ġi tuku ġi mu-[u]n-íl
8. níġ ak-a-ġu₁₀ a-rá 7-e nu-un-DU x x
9. zag-ba a-rá 7-e nu-mu-un-da-pàd
10. diġir-ġu₁₀ lú kúr di nu-me-en šà-zu ki-bi ha-ma-ab-ġi₄-ġi₄¹⁰⁷

⁽¹⁾Say to my god, ⁽²⁾thus says Gudea, your servant:

⁽³⁾Like a sheep, who has no reliable shepherd, ⁽⁴⁾I have no reliable herdsman to guide me. ⁽⁵⁾(Instead) I have been forced to accompany

¹⁰⁶ Such as ù-na-dug₄, na-ab-bé-a, or ù-na-dè-tah or standard closing exhortations. In addition to the tablets listed above, there are fragmentary lines associated with Ni 4164 (ISET 2 117), that may be part of a letter. However, as the main composition preserved on this compilation tablet is CKU 20, it is more likely that this unidentified letter is a fragment of a CKU letter and not a SEpM or ANL composition.

¹⁰⁷ Var (Su2): diġir-ġu₁₀ lú kúr-zu nu-me-en ba-ar-mé en-tar-re.

an imprudent merchant. ⁽⁶⁾Like a donkey he [strikes? me] (with) a brutal whip.

⁽⁷⁾I am important, but I must say nothing; has he seen that I am vigilant? ⁽⁸⁾Seven times my doing this has not... ⁽⁹⁾At its side, seven times, I have not found/recognized him. ⁽¹⁰⁾My god, I am not one who speaks angrily! May your heart revert to its previous sentiment for me!¹⁰⁸

Commentary

4. On the role of the na-gada as a high-ranking bureaucrat see Garfinkle 2000, 45f.; Lang 2006.

5. For saġ-dù-dù see Sjöberg 1973a, 128f.

6. Although the verb is broken, the sense is that the petitioner is treated like a beast of burden. In IŠD I A 35 a whip (usan₃) is said to rile up (zig) a donkey.

7. saġ tuku is well attested, but not normally as a verb (see e.g. Römer 1965, 160; Sjöberg 1966; Cohen 1981, 170; Selz 1995, 24 w/n 59; Behrens 1998, 109).

9. The interpretation of this line is entirely unclear.

10. Although it is not entirely certain that Su2 is ANL1 and not a similar plea, the parallel is close enough to merit inclusion here.

¹⁰⁸ Var (Su2): My god, I am not your enemy. Inquire about me!

ANL 3. Iddatum to Sumutara (3.3.15)**Source**

N117 = UM 29-16-41 (Michalowski 1978, 120) = 1–7

Bibliography: Editions: Michalowski 1978, 118.

Text Transliteration

1. ^msu-mu-tar-ra ù-na-dug₄
2. ^mid-da-tum na-ab-bé-a
3. ^{lú}kíg-gi₄-a kur ^{gíš}erin-na zag-b[i²-ta?]
4. igi-mu-šè gú mu-un-ġar-re-eš-ma
5. mu ^{lú}kíg-gi₄-a-zu á áġ-ġá la-...]
6. ^{lú}kíg-gi₄-a-zu ù-um-ġen
7. igi-ni-šè á áġ-ġá ga-ba-e-šúm
8. a-ma-ru-kam

⁽¹⁾Say to Sumutara, ⁽²⁾thus says Iddatum:

⁽³⁾The messengers [from?] the border of the juniper mountains
⁽⁴⁾gathered before me. ⁽⁵⁾Because your messenger has not [been given?] instructions, ⁽⁶⁾when your messenger arrives ⁽⁷⁾I will give him instructions. ⁽⁸⁾It is urgent!

Commentary

1f. To my knowledge, the names in this text are unattested in both Ur III and OB administrative documents.

3. For ^{gíš}erin, “juniper,” see Michalowski 2011. Literary and archival evidence indicates that in the 3rd and 2nd millennia the kur ^{gíš}erin was used in reference to the eastern mountains (Ibid.).

ANL 4. *Igmil-Sin to Nudimmudsiga* (3.3.23)**Source**

N107 = CBS 4575 (PBS 12 32) = obv: 1–13, rev: 15–21

Bibliography: Commentary: Civil 2000a, 105f. (+ transliteration, translation ll. 6–13); Vanstiphout 2004, 59 (ll. 6–11); Löhnert 2009, 83f. (ll. 3–13); Gadotti and Kleinerma 2011 (ll. 1–12).

Text Transliteration

1. ^dnu-dím-mud-sig₇-ga-ra ù-na-dug₄
 2. ^mig-mil-^dsuen ad-da!-zu na-ab-bé-a
 3. /du\ -nu-um^{ki} gú íd ama[r-^dsue-na-k]a-šè
 4. nam-šagina-bi-šè du-a-[ġu₁₀]-ne
 5. [du]mu é-dub-ba-a tur-ta bul[uġ₃]¹⁰⁹-šè
 6. lú me-me-ta lú dub did[li]-šè
 7. lú a-rá-ta níġ-kas₇-ne-ne-šè
 8. lú ka-inim-ma lú èn-du /búr\ -búr-ra
 9. im-dub-ba-ne-ne im-gíd-da-ne-ne im-šu-ka-ne-ne¹¹⁰
 10. u₄-da zal-la-bi bí-/sar\
 11. ^gbisag-šu-ġá bí-ġ[ar]¹¹¹
 12. ù za-e uru₂ àm-ma-ir-ra-bi im-gíd-[...]
 13. lú im-gíd-da-ke₄-ne-ne /x x x\ [...]
 14. lú níġ-kas₇ du[b-ba-a...]¹¹²
- (rest of obv. broken)
 (beginning of rev. broken)¹¹³
15. áġ-[...]
 16. nam-lú-[...]
 17. níġ-ba-zu z[u?...]
 18. silim-ma-ġu₁₀ silim-[ma-zu]
 19. ú silim dumu é-du[b-ba...] nu-mu-e-š[i...]
 20. ^mli-bur-ra-am ĠIŠ.NE /x\ [...]
 21. iri bal-la-ġá-a-ġin₇ [...] šà-ġu₁₀ hé-x-x/x\

¹⁰⁹ Compare to form in IdD A 224 C (Mittermayer 2006, no. 264).

¹¹⁰ Collated, order of ll. 9 and 10 in Civil 2000a is incorrect.

¹¹¹ Collated, line left out of copy in PBS 12.

¹¹² While there are large gaps after ll. 12, 13, and 14, the lines above (e.g. ll. 7, 9) also have large spaces between the last sign on the line and the sign immediately preceding it. As such these three lines may be essentially complete as stands.

¹¹³ Civil 2000a, 105 suggests a gap of circa 10 lines.

⁽¹⁾Say to Nudimmudsiga, ⁽²⁾thus says Igmil-Sin, your father:

⁽³⁻⁴⁾When I arrived as governor ⁽³⁾to Dunnum, on the bank of the Amar-Suen canal, ⁽⁵⁾(all) the students, from the youngest to the eldest, ⁽⁶⁾from the ones doing the series meme, to the ones doing an array of (compositions on) tablets, ⁽⁷⁾from the ones doing multiplication tablets to the ones doing their business accounts,¹¹⁴ ⁽⁸⁾the ones doing incantations, the ones who interpret songs, ⁽¹⁰⁾during the day and *into the night* I had them write ⁽⁹⁾their multi-column tablets, their single-column tablets (or) their lenticular tablets. ⁽¹¹⁾I had them deposited in my “hand” basket(s).

⁽¹²⁾For your part, you transferred the (texts of the balaĝ) uru am-ma-ir-ra-bi. ⁽¹³⁾The ones (who write) their single-column tablets... ⁽¹⁴⁾the ones (who write) accounts...

(ca. 10 lines missing)

2 lines unclear

⁽¹⁷⁾Your gift [...]. ⁽¹⁸⁾My well-being, [your] well-being, ⁽¹⁹⁾and the well being of the students [...]. ⁽²⁰⁾Liburam [...]. ⁽²¹⁾Like my changed city, my heart will [...].

Commentary

1. The name Nudimmudsiga is unattested in the Ur III administrative and OB Nippur corpora, although the Akkadian version of the name, Ea-bani, occurs in both (Stone 1987, 237; TMH NF 1–2, 351, 351b). The form Ibni-Ea also occurs in OB and Ur III Nippur, e.g. Stone 1987, 245; NRVN 1, 224.

2. For Igmil-Sin see Ch.2.4.3.

3. On the location of Dunnum and the Amar-Suena canal see SEpM 4:9f.

4. For du-a-[ĝu₁₀]-ne, a (possible) neologism of du-ĝu₁₀-ne (Balke 2006, 69f. w/n 309–311) compare ŠB 121 (5 manuscripts with du-ĝu₁₀-ne versus two with du-a-ĝu₁₀-ne); ELA 631; CKU 1:9.

6. me-me is the first entry of the elementary lexical list Silbenalphabet A, the non-Nippur recension of Silbenalphabet B (Civil 1985 73f.;

¹¹⁴ Perhaps “model contracts”?

Civil 2000a 106 n. 5). This text is referred to elsewhere in the scribal literature, eg. Edubba D 11–14:

11. [dub] /ki-en-gi ki\uri-ke₄ a-a me-me-ta
12. [x x x]-šè ì-šid ù ì-sar
13. /mu\ dil-dil ^dinana-téš-ta
14. edin-a níĝ zi-ĝál-edin-a zag lú-šu-ka-šè ì-sar

“I have (already) recited and written the Sumerian and Akkadian [tablets] from (the syllabery) a-a me-me up to.... I have written all the lines from (the list of personal names) Inana-teš up to (the series) lú = *šū*, even the old fashioned forms.”¹¹⁵

7. Elsewhere, scribes extol their competence in multiplication and accounting, see e.g. Exam Text A 27 (Sjöberg 1976, 167) and Edubba D 28 (Civil 1985).

8. Despite the absence of incantations at Nippur, ka-inim-ma must be an incantation and not a word list, which likely would have been cited by name as in l. 6. The juxtaposition of this term with èn-du is further evidence in favor of this interpretation. This is especially the case in ANL 8:12 where ka-inim-ma 20-àm 30-àm is parallel to èn-du 10-àm 20-àm. This cannot mean 20 or 30 words, which would be far too few, but also not 20 or 30 lexical texts, far too many.

9. See George 1993, 70f. for the identification of im-šu as a lentil in OB. Essentially these tablets were homework, assigned—at least in the Edubba texts—to the students to work on in the evenings (Civil 1985, 75f.). The suggestion that im-dub-ba is a multi-column tablet is based on context.

10. u₄-da zal-la-bi, literally “during the day and after it passes,” is otherwise unattested.

11. ^gbisaĝ-šu is attested in Hh VIII-IX OB forerunner 45 (MSL 7, 185; and see Foster 1982b, 16f; Limet 1986, 276; Civil 2008, 135). Note also the entry in Hh VIII Emar 117: ^gbisaĝ-šu-kam-ma = *ša me-ri-il-ti*, “reed basket for supplies.”

¹¹⁵ Translation and interpretation of l. 14 follows Civil 1985, 74. For an alternative version see Sjöberg 1976, 162ff. SP 2.48 contains a similar reference:

lú a-a nu-mu-un-da-ak-da-àm eme kaš₄-kaš₃ me-da hé-en-tùm
“One who cannot produce (the series) a-a, how will he achieve fluid speech?”

12. For this well attested balaĝ composition see Cohen 1988, 536ff.; Volk 1989.

20. The name li-bur-ra-am is unattested in the Ur III administrative corpus but does occur in OB Nippur (Stone 1987, 258).

ANL 6. Lu-Ninurta to Inana-andul-duga (3.3.34)**Sources**

N111 = Ni 4326+ Ni 9534 (ISET 2 119)	= Version A, ll. 5–12
N115 = UM 29–15–972 (WO 9 13)	= Version A, ll. 1–12
X26 = PTS 260 (YOS 15 5)	= Version B, ll. 1–12

Editions: Cohen 1977.

Version A¹¹⁶

1. ^dinana-an-dùl-du₁₀-[ga-ra ù-na-a-dug₄]
2. ^mlú-^dnin-urta ugula é-^dnin-urta-ke₄
3. na-ab-bé-a
4. [^ma-a-an-dùl] arad₂ nam-en-na ^dnin-urta-ke₄
5. [a-a-^d]nin-urta-ke₄ šu ba-an-ti-eš-ma
6. [...] ^{ki}-ga-ka al-dúr-ru-ne-eš
7. [...] /x\ -zu-šè ba-ab-du₇-/u\[n[?]]
8. nibru^{ki}-šè lú gi₄-ma-[ab]
9. [x-z]u sá ga-ra-ab-[dug₄]
10. tukum-bi du₁₀-sa-ĝu₁₀ za-e-/me-en\
11. [x]-zu šúm-/ma\ -ab /x\-[x (...)]
12. a-ma-ru-kam

⁽¹⁾Say to Inana-andul-duga, ⁽³⁾thus says ⁽²⁾Lu-Ninurta, overseer of the Ninurta temple:

⁽⁴⁾[Aa-andul], the servant attached to the office of the high priest of Ninurta ⁽⁵⁾(and) [Aa]-Ninurta received it and ⁽⁶⁾remained in....⁽⁷⁾you agree to your...

⁽⁸⁾Send a man to Nippur for me. ⁽⁹⁾I will make sure you receive your...

⁽¹⁰⁾If you are (really) my friend ⁽¹¹⁾give me your...⁽¹²⁾It is urgent!

¹¹⁶ Restorations based on Version B.

Commentary

2. While Cohen (1977, 10f.) attempted to identify Lu-Ninurta with a historical official at the Ninurta temple in Nippur, he is more likely an invented character with a name chosen to reflect his profession.

On the function of the ugula é, the top official in a temple household, see Zettler 1992, 177; Sallaberger and Huber-Vulliet 2003–2005, 628f. The title ugula é-^dnin-urta is unattested in the Ur III administrative corpus, although it does occur in one text from Sargonic period Nippur (OSP 2, 134).

5. The name must be a-a-^dnin-urta, “the father is Ninurta.” The writing a-an-^dnin-urta in Version B is certainly an error under the influence of a-a-an- from the line above.

9. Although Cohen 1977 suggested the restoration [á?-šè? zé?-z]u at the beginning of the line, there seems to be room for only one sign.

Version B

1. ^dinana-an-dùl-du₁₀-ga-ra ù-na-a-dug₄
2. ^mlú-^dnin-urta saĝĝa? x é-^dnin-urta
3. na-ab-bé-a
4. é-^dnin-urta é-šu<-me>-ša₄ hé-a-du-du-du
5. nam /gur₅?\-uš-a-zu ba-ab-bu-ús-sá
6. ni[bru^k]ⁱ-šè /kíĝ\ -gi₄-a-zu ba-ab-de₆
7. á-/šè\ /x\ sá ga-ra-ab-dug₄
8. ^ma-a-an-dùl arad₂ nam-en-na é-^dnin-urta-ke₄
9. a-an-^dnin-urta-ke₄ šu ba-an-ti-me-eš
10. a-na x /ki\ -bi-/šè\ ba-an-díb
11. /x\ ma /x um?/zé?\ ù?-me?-dí^m?
12. [a-ma-ru]-kam

¹Say to Inana-andul-duga, ³thus says ²Lu-Ninurta, administrator of the Ninurta temple:

⁴May you continually serve in the Ešumeša, the temple of Ninurta.

⁵Concerning your “trimmings” that have been checked, ⁶your messengers have taken them to Nippur. ⁷In the meantime, I will make sure you receive...

⁸Aa-andul, the servant of the en-priest of Ninurta ⁹(and) Ninurta received it. ¹⁰What...did he transfer to its place? ¹¹....¹²It is urgent!

Commentary

4. See CAD A/I 309 for *alāku* in the sense of “to serve, to do service,” and in particular the nuance of “to go, walk about, to live, act, to be in motion” when used in the N-stem (p. 324). For conventional greetings in Akkadian daily-life letters see Sallaberger 1999b, 74ff., esp. pp. 78–84. This particular formula seems to be paralleled only in an Assurbanipal inscription: DU.DU-*ku Emašmaš lulabbira šēpā’a*, “may my feet reach old age going to and from in (your temple) Emašmaš” (Streck Asb 276:18).

5. *gur₃-ru(-uš)/guru₅*, “to grind, cut, trim,” is attested frequently with plants (e.g. Gudea Cyl. A 22.2; LSUr 87, GEN 204). It is also used in the general sense of destruction (e.g. LUnug 67) and is the verb used for a snake when it spits venom (*uš₇*) or bile (*zé*) (e.g. Gudea Cyl. A 10.23; IŠE B Seg. B 4). For the distinction between */guruš/*, a noun denoting originally a hairstyle, and */guru/* a verb with the basic meaning “to cut,” see Attinger 1993, 521ff. The sense of the term in this line should indicate a portion that has been set aside, perhaps a portion of some agricultural item which has in fact been *guru₅*’ed.

10. Although Cohen 1977 reads *zé*, “cuttings,” we would expect *zé-a* (here and in line 7). The sense of *ki-bi-šè dīb* is unclear, but compare Lugale 47.

11. *ù-me-dím* needs collation as a verbal form beginning with *ù* should not end a clause, see Civil 2000b, 39.

ANL 8. *Nabi-Enlil to his colleagues***Source**

N112 = Ni 4491 + Ni 4493 (ISET 2 121 + ISET 1 180)
 = obv: 1–8, rev: 9–15

Text Transliteration

1. gi₄-me-a-aš-ĝu₁₀-ne ù[-na(-a)-dug₄]
 2. ^mna-bi-^den-líl du[b-sar...] šeš-a-ne [...] na-ab-bé-a
 3. ud tur-ra mu-ta-[x]-zu-NE-dè-en
 4. dumu-zu-ne-gin₇ n[am-n]i-buluĝ₃-e-zé-en
 5. lú gi-na-gin₇ /x\ [x] tuku-a-gin₇ ĩgi bí-[x]-/x\-ni-gíd!?-dè-en
 6. [x] /x\ sí sá /x\ [x] ma-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄-zé-en
 7. (traces) [...b]a-an-ráh-an-na
 8. [...] /x\ bí-ak
- (rest of obverse broken)
 (beginning of reverse broken)
9. [...] (traces)
 10. (traces) [...] /x-x-en\
 11. [x(-x)] lú-kúr-ni [x] /x\ al-KA*x-KA*x-ne x = gu₇?
 12. [x]-e lú-kúr-/zu? \ /x\ tur-ra-zu-ne bí-/x\-dé-/en\
 13. nam-sa₆-ga-ne /x\ nibru^{ki} dù-a-bi gâr? BU /x\-ak-ne
 14. ĝâ-e nam-sa₆-ga /x\ li-bí-ib-x HI /x\ [x]-zu-en
 15. níĝ ud-bi-ta lú-zu [...]

⁽¹⁾Say to my colleagues, ⁽²⁾thus says Nabi-Enlil, the scribe...their brother...

⁽³⁾From youth we learned...⁽⁴⁾You raised me like your child. ⁽⁵⁾Like righteous men, we did not frown like one who had...⁽⁶⁾For me you had (re)turned...

(rest fragmentary)

Discussion

Although much is preserved in several lines of the reverse, I have chosen to leave it untranslated. Given that key words are missing at both the end and middle of the lines, the sense is almost impossible to render.

ANL 9. *Nabi-Enlil to Diġir-inim-siga* (3.3.18)

1. ^mdiġir-inim-siga ù-na-a-dug₄
2. ^mna-bi-^den-líl dub-sar dumu saġ-^den-líl-lá-ke₄
3. na-ab-bé-a
4. [ġe₂₆-e] ne-e níġ bí-a-ak
5. di₄-di₄-lá-e-ne nibru^{ki} ir-si-im hé-ak-ne
6. mu-da 3-kam-ma-ta lú-da im-mi-in-gi₄
7. ki al-dúr-ru-ne-eš-àm é-um-mi-a-ka ù igi-ġá nu-sag₉
8. ù lú al-tur-ra ^mKA-^dnin-urta-ra in-na-dug₄
9. mu é-um-mi-a-ġá-ke₄ kag-ġu₁₀ nu-ba
10. a-da-al ki al-dúr-ru-ne-eš-a é-dub-ba-a gi-na in-nu
11. nam-dub-sar-ra nu-mu-un-da-zu-zu
12. ka-inim-ma 20-àm 30-àm nu-mu-un-da-šid
13. èn-du 10-àm 20-àm nu-mu-un-da-bal
14. dub-saġ-ta é-um-mi-a-ġá-ka kag-ġu₁₀ nu-ba-e-en
15. nibru^{ki}-a é-dub-ba-a dili-àm al-me-a nu-e-zu
16. [x (x)] nu-zu-a i-ra-an-dug₄-ma egir KA-KA-na e₁₁-dè-en
17. [nam]¹¹⁷-ġu₁₀-šè nam-dub-sar-ra mu-da-zu-zu-a
18. nibru^{ki} i-si-in^{ki}-na dù-a-bi èn tar-bi
19. ka-inim-ma èn-du na-rú-a eme-ġir₁₅ ka-tar
20. [x (x)] zà nam-gala-šè ga-ne-eb-zu-zu
21. [nibru^k]ⁱ-gin₇-nam ki-gal-la ga-ne-eb-gub
22. [x x] kug-sig₁₇ l gún kug-babbar ugu-ne-ne-a ga-me-eb-ġar
23. [...] da-ra nam-bí-šub-bé-en
24. di₄-di₄-lá-e-ne inim x nam-bí-ib-dù-e-en
25. nam-dub-sar-ra nam-bí-ib-dib-bé-en
26. [x x] a-la-la izi lú-ša hé-zu-zu-ne
27. [u₄]-da egir-bi-šè eme-sig nam-bí-gu₇-gu₇

⁽¹⁾Say to Diġir-inim-siga ⁽³⁾thus says ⁽²⁾Nabi-Enlil, the scribe, the son of Saġ-Enlila:

⁽⁴⁾This is what I have done (so that) ⁽⁵⁾the youngsters would get a whiff of Nippur!

⁽⁶⁾For three years I have been replaced with someone. ⁽⁸⁾I told KA-Ninurta ⁽⁷⁾that the place they (the youngsters) were staying was in the

¹¹⁷ Restorations following van Dijk, 1989 unless otherwise specified.

teacher's house, but not only did it not seem good (enough) to me, ⁽⁸⁾the person (instructing them) was incompetent as well. ⁽⁹⁾Out of regard for my teacher's house, I have not opened my mouth (publicly). ⁽¹⁰⁾Now then, the place where they are staying is just not a proper school! ⁽¹¹⁾No one can get an education (there)! ⁽¹²⁾No one could recite (even) 20 or 30 incantations, ⁽¹³⁾nor perform 10 or 20 songs. ⁽¹⁴⁾(But) from the start I did not want to open my mouth about the house of my teacher.

⁽¹⁵⁾Didn't you know it's the case that the school in Nippur is unique?

⁽¹⁶⁾He (KA-Ninurta.²) told you that...is incompetent, but you do not appreciate the importance of his words.¹¹⁸ ⁽¹⁷⁾So that, to my credit, they will be able to get a good education, ⁽¹⁸⁾get informed of everything that is tested everywhere in Nippur as well as Isin! ⁽²⁰⁾I will have them learn: ⁽¹⁹⁾incantations, songs, royal inscriptions, Sumerian, panegyric, ⁽²⁰⁾... up to and including the lamentation corpus! ⁽²¹⁾I will establish it for them in a great place, just like Nippur is! ⁽²²⁾I will deposit [n (units)] of gold (and) 1 talent of silver to their credit.

⁽²³⁾Do not neglect...! ⁽²⁴⁾Do not keep the kids from...speech! ⁽²⁵⁾Do not let them bypass (any aspect of) the curriculum! ⁽²⁶⁾They should learn..., the alala songs, (as well as) the series izi and lú-ša. ⁽²⁷⁾(If so, then) in the future, I shall never complain again!¹¹⁹

Commentary

Although the language and grammar of this letter are relatively straight forward, interpretation is surprisingly difficult. Presumably Nabi-Enlil has traveled to Nippur and is writing back (home), regarding schooling in his hometown. Line 4 seems to set the stage for the rest of the letter clarifying from the outset that Nabi-Enlil has made arrangements for the students at home to receive an education comparable to that which they would get in Nippur.

Lines 6–14 give the back-story. Nabi-Enlil was replaced by another teacher, who proved to be unsatisfactory (ll. 6–8). Out of respect for his own teacher, Nabi-Enlil could not complain publicly but instead registered a complaint with one KA-Ninurta (l. 9), whose identity is unclear. Now Nabi-Enlil is providing instructions as to what makes

¹¹⁸ Literally: “you leave out the importance of his mouth.” (Translation following Attinger, personal communication).

¹¹⁹ Alternative: “then I shall never envy (Nippur) again!”

a proper school; lines 17–20 explain the curriculum so that (line 21) Nabi-Enlil will (finally) have established a good school for his children.

Lines 23–25 go on to inform the addressee of his role in the education process. Perhaps he is to be the new teacher? The letter ends with an exhortation; assuming his instructions are followed, Nabi-Enlil will never complain again (or feel inferior to Nippur again). The letter's overall message clearly reinforces the superiority of a Nippur education.

There may be an additional layer intended to further mock the non-Nippur schools. The types of compositions mentioned in ll. 19–21 are not those known to us to have been part of the Nippur scribal curriculum. Thus, it may well be that the text is pocking fun at these non-Nippureans who do not understand truly the Nippur curriculum and so will never be able to rival it.

1. The reading of the personal name is uncertain. Civil 2000, 106 n. 8 reads N110 as [...]–/x\–ta? and X18 AN.DÜL–/eštar!?\ noting that the name Silli-eštar is attested in OB Nippur (e.g. Stone 1987, 279). VanDijk 1988, 449 n. 11 reads N110 as AN.KA.ŠA and X18 AN.KA-x-ra noting that x cannot be ša and a reading eš₄-tár is possible “nur mit Mühe.” He settles for a reading *ilum-puzur₄-ra*, although he concludes that RA is more likely umbisaĝ. Volk (personal communication) suggests a reading AN.KA.SI.GA for X18 where KA.SI.GA is inim sig, “to express a desire.” Although such a personal name would be unique, this solution best fits the traces.

4. Note the alternation of the 3rd person (bí-in-ak) in N110 for the 1st person (bí-a-ak) in X18 (Attinger 1993, 111 §41).

5. Compare Edubba C 70:

di₄-di₄-lá inim-inim-ma hé-du₇ kaš hu-mu-un-ku₇-ku₇-dè-ne

“The little fellows should enjoy like beer the sweetness of decorous words.”

For a slight alternative, favoring N110, see Attinger 2005, 231.

6. mu-da, in place of the expected mu, is unexpected. Translation follows Attinger (personal communication) and Sallaberger (2008).

8. The name KA-^dNinurta is attested in OB Nippur (Stone 1987, 256). It is unclear why N112 omitted lines 8 and 9, and the parallel line, line 14. Alternatively, the scribe who wrote X18 may have added these lines of his own initiative, or have copied them from a source which did.

12. For ka-inim-ma see ANL 4:8.

16. Another example of a conjugated verb without a prefix chain, for which see also SEpM 18:10.

18. For the imperative ending in -bi see Attinger 2004 and Sin-iddi-nam to Utu 38.

19. ka-tar = *dalīlu*, here something like “(vocabulary of) praise” = “panegyric.”

21. Compare ŠB 310, in which Šulgi claims to have founded scribal schools in Ur and Nippur (and see Michalowski 2003a, 195f.). It may be the case that the humor of this line hangs on the use of ki-gal also as an epithet for the Netherworld (e.g. InDesc 1, 2, 3, etc.): “I will establish a ‘hell’ just like Nippur.”

22. Source N118 puts this line after l.22 of X18. Civil’s translation (2000, 106f.) follows this version and he understands these lines as an indication of the “humorous tone of the letter, even if the modern reader may fail to see the point.” Based on Riddle 1:3 (Civil 1987b, 18–21) he restores as follows:

(22.) [...] I will put one talent of silver in their account.

(21.) I want to put (the school) on a pedestal like a [goose(?)]

24. For dù, “to impede, hinder,” see most recently Wilcke 2007, 48 n. 124 with references.

25. For the use of dib in the sense of “neglect” compare ŠB 20:

dub-sar ḡál taka₄-a níḡ-e nu-dib-bé-me-en

“I am an experienced scribe who does not neglect a thing.”

26. For a-la-la, a type of song, see now Shehata 2009, 236f. and compare SP 3.87:

nagar ḡ³³kibir₂-àm
ad-KID ma-sá-ab-àm
simug da tur-tur ak
nar u₈!-u_x(PA)-a a-la-la

“What characterizes the carpenter is the chisel. What characterizes the reed weaver is the basket. What characterizes the smith is the making of little... What characterizes the singer are the sounds ua and alala.”

PSD A/I 100 understands a-la-la as a “work cry” (following CAD A/I 328f. “an exclamation of joy, refrain of a work song”) and the other Sumerian literary references do seem to refer to a cry of a worker or sailor (e.g. SP 3.179, SP 7.77). This passage, however, seems to corroborate the use of a-la-la found in SP 3.87, cited above.

Izi and Lú were two of the advanced lists studied in the elementary education. According to the curriculum established by Veldhuis 1997, 57, Proto-Lú was studied before Proto-Izi.

ANL 10. Saĝ-lugalbi-zu to Nur-Kabta (3.3.16)

1. ^mnu-úr-^dkab-ta-ra ù-na-a-du₄
2. ^msaĝ-lugal-bi-zu-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a
3. za-e zabar-dab₅ ù nar-gal-e
4. kù-^dnin-líl-lá abul-mah-a haš₄ dab₅-bé-da-en-zé-en
5. a-šà gi₄-gi₄-dè ur-^dsuen-a [...] x lugal-ĝu₁₀ nam-maškim ì-tuku
e-/x\-[...]
6. tukum-bi šà gi-na-zu-ta šēš-ĝu₁₀-me-en
7. di-ĝu₁₀ LÚ*GÁNA-t.-éš na-an-ne-en
8. mu di-da-ka-ni igi-zu-šè KA bal-e
9. lú mu-e-ši-in-gi₄ gú-zu na-an-šub-bé-en
10. a-ma-ru-kam

⁽¹⁾Say to Nur-Kabta, ⁽²⁾thus says Saĝ-lugalbi-zu:

⁽³⁾When you (together with) the zabardab and the chief singer, ⁽⁴⁾detained Ku-Ninlila at the Abulmah gate, ⁽⁵⁾Ur-Sin procured...-lugalĝu (to act) as baliff in order to (obtain) the return of the field.

⁽⁶⁾If in your true heart you are my brother, ⁽⁷⁾do not mistreat me because of my case! ⁽⁸⁾Because (he wishes) to discuss his case with you, ⁽⁹⁾I am sending you a man. You must not neglect him! ⁽¹⁰⁾It is urgent!

Commentary

1f. Although unattested in the Ur III administrative corpus, the name Nur-Kabta occurs in OB (e.g. Stone 1987, 272). Saĝ-lugalbi-zu is unattested in both Ur III and OB archival sources. The name does occur, however, in the OB Nippur PN List B 1.18 (= Çiğ and Kizilyay 1965, 44); see also the discussion in Michalowski 1978, 115.

4. While N119 and X24 give the name as Ku-Ninlila, N105 substitutes Ku-Enlila. While Ku-Ninlila is unattested in the Ur III corpus, Ku-Enlila is not uncommon.¹²⁰ Contra Civil 1999–2000, 184, dab₅-bé-da-en-zé-en

¹²⁰ Although likely nothing more than coincidence NATN 868 declares the release of one Ku-Enlila:

- (1.) kù-^den-líl-lá
- (2.) dumu šēš-al-du₁₀
- (3.) šu bar-a-ni

Moreover, the seal, although mostly worn belonged to a singer, ^d[x]-nin-x-PAP-x nar.

cannot be an imperative given the ergative in line 3. Moreover, the syntax of both OB Akkadian archival letters and the Sumerian letters dictates that the first part of such documents should be declarative; imperative clauses come only after the *tukum-bi* clause (Sallaberger 1996b, 144ff.). Thus, the verb here is most likely a participle.

5. Ur-Suena is one of the most common names in the Ur III onomastica, attested almost 1300 times and over 100 times at Nippur. On the role of the *maškim* as a judge's aide see Lafont and Westbrook 2003, 193 with references.

6. Although unattested in Sumerian legal texts or letter orders, the Akkadian equivalent of this expression—*šumma ina kittim ahī atta*—is a common appeal in OB daily-life letters (see the references collected in Sallaberger 1999b, 187f.).

8. On the form *di-da-ka-ni* see Michalowski 1978, 117. On the reading KA bal see SEpM 22:9.

ANL 11. [...]-Kabta to Enlil-bani (3.3.37)**Source**

N111 = Ni 4326 + Ni 9534 (ISET 2 119) = 1–10

Text Transliteration

1. [d^e]n-líl-ba-n[i]
2. [ù-na]-a-dug₄
3. [x (x)]-^dkab-ta x-ra-x
4. [x (x) n]a-ab-bé-a
5. [luga]l-zid-a iti ^dnin-MUG zàh-da-bi-ta
6. [x x (x)] siki-ke₄ /x x x x\ [x]
7. [x] /ba-a\[n...]
8. [x]-in-/x\[...]
9. /x\bi ba-[...]
10. [a-m]a-ru-[kam]

^(1–2)Say to Enlil-bani, ^(3–4)thus says...-Kabta...:

⁽⁵⁾After Lugal-zida escaped in the month of Ninmug, (4 lines unclear)

⁽¹⁰⁾It is urgent.

Commentary

This letter, part of the CKI, follows ANL 6 version A, which of course, is not a royal letter.

5. The month iti ezem ^dnin-MUG is the eleventh month attested only in Sargonic and Ur III Adab (Cohen 1993, 202). Its presence in a Nippur text is unclear. For the reading of the sign MUG/ZADIM see Cavigneaux and Kreberník 1998–2001, 471.

ANL 12 X1 to Y1**Source**

N114 = Ni 9780 (ISET 1 180) = obv: 1–4, rev: 5–7

Text Transliteration

1. [...] /x\ ù-na-dug₄
 2. [...] /x\ sàg-sàg-ge
 3. [...] /lah₄?\-eš-àm
 4. [...] /bí-in\-[...]
- (rest of obverse broken)
 (beginning of reverse broken)
5. [...] /x x\ nam-/x\
 6. [...] bí-in-dé-dé
 7. [...] -/x\-na ġiri₃!¹²¹ lí-bí-in-DU

Discussion

N114 is a right-hand upper edge fragment, with very small writing suggestive of a type I tablet. Indeed, that this text must be a multi-columned tablet, with l. 7 the last line of the first column on the reverse, is logical given that otherwise this line would be a very strange letter ending. As a result, it may be the case that the obverse and reverse texts are not part of the same composition.

¹²¹ The sign is anšc, but ġiri₃ better fits the (albeit limited) context.

APPENDIX

TEXTUAL MATRICES

Key to the matrices

- + sign is present
- . sign is partially preserved
- x sign is unidentified
- sign is omitted
- o sign is broken
- / line is indented
- ; two lines of the eclectic text written on one line of the manuscript
- // one line of the eclectic text written on two lines of the manuscript
- / \ variant sign is partially preserved

SEpM 2. Šin-tillati to Iddin-Dagan (B2, 3.2.1)

Sources

N2 = 3N-T80 = A30135 (Ali 1964, pl. xxxi)	= 1–12
N9 = 3N-T389 (Ali 1964, pl. liii) ¹	= 1
N35 = CBS 2231 + UM 29-15-384 (PBS 5 65)	= 7–12
N40 = CBS 7848 + CBS 7856 (PBS 13 46 + Ali pl. xxxviii)	= 1–12
N69 = Ni 2786 (ISET 2 120)	= 1
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv–xxv)	= 1–12
N86 = UM 29-13-20 + UM 29-13-24 (+ un-numbered fragment)	= 10–12
Nv1 = K20167	
Uk3 = W 16473gb (AUWE 23 168 no. 143)	= 1–4
X8 = Crozer 206	= 9–11
X16 = NBC 11452	= 1–10

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 63–66.

Commentary: Huber 1998, 15; Michalowski 1980-83, 55; Römer 1996, 527–528.

Concordance of Sigla with Ali 1964:

N2	C	A	N76
N35	D	B	N40

¹ Copy mislabeled as 3N-T309 in Ali.

N40 B
N76 A
N86 E

C N2
D N35
E N86

Textual Matrix

1. lugal-ĝá ù-na-dug₄
N2 o . + o o
N9 + + + +
N40 o o o + +
N76 + + + o o
N79 + + + + o
Uk3 o o o o +
X16 + + + + +

2. ^{m d} Sîn-tillati ra-bi sí-kà-tum-ma

N2 o o o o . + o o o .
N40 o o o o o o + + + +
N76 + + + + + + o o o o
Uk3 o o o o o o o o . +
X16 + + + + + + + + + + -

3. arad-zu na-ab-bé-a

N2 o o o o o o
N40 o o o + + +
N76 + + o o o o
Uk3 o o o o + +
X16 + + + + + +

4. ka-ku-la-tum ^{ki} -šè gaba-ri gíd-da-ĝu₁₀-ne

N2 o o o o o o o o o . .
N40 o o o o o . + + + + +
N76 + + + + . o o o o o o
Uk3 o o o o o o o + + + +
X16 + + + + - +//+ + gi + + +

5. mar-tu ^{ĝis} tukul-bi-da šubtu₅-ta im-ma-zig

N2 (traces)
N40 o o o o o ta + + + +
N76 + + + . o o o o o o
X16 + + + + + + // + + + +

6. $\hat{g}e_{26}$ -e zi-ga- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ -ne 600 ì- gaz 1200 ì- dab₅

N2	o	o	o	o	+	//	o	o	o	o	+
N40	o	o	.	+	+		o	o	o	+	+
N76	+	+	o	o	o		o	o	o	o	o
X16	+	+	+	+	+	//	+	an	ni	+	+

7. ka-ku-la-tum^{ki} -šè ba-ni- kur₉

N2	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	in	+
N35	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	
N40	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	+	in
N76	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	
X16	+	+	+	+	-	+	//	+	+

8. tukum-bi lugal- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ ugnim-ma tuš-ù-bi ab-bé

N2	o		o	o	o	+	+	/	o	o	.	+	+
N35	+		.	o	o//	+		.	.	+	o	o	o
N40	o		.	+	+	//	o	.	+	+	+	+	+
N76	o		o	o	.		o	o/	+	+	.	o	o
X16	+		+	+	gá	//	+	bi	//	+	+	+	+

9. kuš a- $\hat{g}á$ -lá keše₂-da-bi šu hé-mi-ib-da₁₃-da₁₃

N2	o		o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
N35	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.
N40	o		o	o	o	+	+	+	//	o	o	+	+
N76	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X8	+		/á?	\	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X16	+		+	+	+	+	+	.	//	+	+	em	+

10. tukum-bi lugal- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ ugnim-ma nu-tuš-ù-bi ab-bé

N2	o		o	o	o	.	+	/	o	o	o	o	+	+
N35	+		+	+	gá	//	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
N40	o		o	o	+	+	+	//	o	o	o	.	+	+
N76	+		+	+	.	.	.	/	+	+	+	+	+	.
N86	.		o	//	+	o	o	o	//	+	+	o	o	o
X8	.		o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X16	+		+	+	gá	//	+	bi	*	+	o	o	o	o

*X16: written KLSU.LU.EŠ.BI.ĜAR

11. hé-em-ma-su₈-gc-cš

N2	o	o	o	o	+	+
N35	+	+	.	.	bé	+
N40	o	o	o	.	+	+
N76	+	+	+	+	bé	+
N86	+	+	o	o	b]é	+
X8	o	o	o	o	o	o

12. lugal-ġu₁₀ hé-en-zu

N2	o	o	o	+	+
N35	+	+	+	in	+
N40	o	o	o	+	+
N76	+	+	.	.	o
N86	a-ma-[ru]-kam				
X8	.	o	o	o	o

SEpM 3. Iddin-Dagan to Šîn-tillati (B3, 3.2.2)**Sources**

N2 = 3N-T80 = A30135 (Ali 1964, pl. xxxi)	= 1
N30 = 3N-T918, 410 (SLFN 21)	= 1
N35 = CBS 2231 + UM 29-15-384 (PBS 5 65)	= 1-5
N40 = CBS 7848 + CBS 7856 (PBS 13 46 + Ali pl. xxxviii)	= 1
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv-xxv)	= 1-3, 14-19
N88 = N 1513	= 3-11
Ur11 = U 16900 (UET 8 61)	= 13-19
Nv1 = K20167	
X3 = AO 8200	= 1-19
X8 = Crozer 206	= 1-19

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 67-70.

Commentary: Michalowski 1980-83, 55; Römer 1996, 528.

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N35	B	A	N88
N40	D	B	N35
N76	C	C	N76
N88	A	D	N40

Textual Matrix

1. ^{m d} šîn-tillati ra-bi sí-kà-tum-ma

N2	o o o o	o o + + +	+;/
N30	+ + + +	+ + o o o	o
N35	+ + + +	+ . . + +	.
N40	o o o o	o o . + +	+
N76	o o o .	+ + + + +	.;
X3	(traces) +	+(on edge?)	
X8	+ + + .	. . . ka .	-;

2. ù-na-dug₄

N2	o o +
N30	+ + o
N35	+ + a +
N40	o o +
N76	o o .
X3	. . .
X8	+ + +

3. ^d i-din-^d da-gan lugal-zu na-ab-bé-a

N30 (traces)

N35 + + + + + + + +// + + + +

N76 o o o o o . + + + + o o

N88 o o o + . . o o

X3 + +// o + + +

X8 + + + + + + (erasure?) + + + +

4. kaskal-ĝu₁₀ ní-tuku saĝ gi₄-a

N35 + + + + + + +

N76 o o o o o . .

N88 o o o . + + +

X2 o . . + + + +//

X8 omits

gú íd-da 2-a-bi mu-da-ab-bal-e

N35 + bi? – – + + +// + + + . +

N76 + . o o o o o o o o o

N88 + . . + + + . . o o o

X3 o + + + àm – + + – . o

*N35 writes bi differently each of the three times it is used in ll. 2 and 3.

5. ka-ku-la-tum-šè gaba-ri gíd-da-zu-ù-ne

N35 + + + + – . x (x?) . o o o

N88 o + + +

X3 o . . + +//o o . – + – šè

X8 x x x x x iri + + + + . + – –

6. ^d lamma^d da-gan^d kab-ta ù^d en-líl-le-ke₄

N88 + . . o + . + + . . + . ./

X3 o . . (traces)//

X8 + + + + . + + + – – – – – //

erin₂-na gú bí-ri

N88 + . + + .

X3 . . + + +

X8 + bi saĝ-bi-šè sá íb-dug₄-ga

7. me-lám-ĝu₁₀ kalam-ma ba-e-dul

N88 + + + + + + +

X3 + + + + + bí – +

X8 + + ma + + + íb – dul₅

8. ù za-e nam ur-saĝ nam kala-ga-zu
 N88 ++ ++ . . + + . +//
 X3 ++ ++ + +// + + + +//
 X8 ++ ++ kala-ga-ĝá-zu + ur-saĝ-ĝá +

kur- bi-šè ba-e-te

N88 + x + . + + .
 X3 (traces) +
 X8 +* + + + + +

*X8: kur followed by erasure

9. lú-kúr dab₃-ba ba-e-da-an-kur₉

N88 o +/re\o o . - + o o
 X3 + + (traces)
 X8 + + DIS+ + + + + . .

10. erin₂ lú- a iri-ta è-a-ba

N88 . lugal o o o . + .
 X3 omits?
 X8 + + + + + + + +

11. ugnim-ma igi im-mi-in-du₁₁-ga

N88 . o o o o /x\ sá dè /zu\
 X3 + bi šu-za - - - sá dè
 X8 + + + + + + + +

12. lú- dab₃-ne-ne en-nu-ùĝ ĝá-ĝá-da

N88 +igi?+ o o o o o o o o
 X3 omits
 X8 + +? +? + + + + + +

13. a-ga-aš gi₄-bi hé-ni-in-du₈

Ur11 o o o o o o o o .
 X3 ++ + . . o o o o
 X8 ++ ++ + + + + + +

14. ku₄-ku₄ è-dè kíĝ bar ha-ra-ak-ne

N76 [...] + + -?.?//o o o o + +
 Ur11 + + ++ ++ / + + + +
 X3 + + ++//+ + ra + . + +
 X8 + + ++ ++ /ra\hé- + +

15. lugal mu tuku-ne-ne ^{giš}tukul erin₂-na

N76 o o o o o o o o
 N88 (traces) x x + /x\
 Ur11 + + + bi + + +! + +/
 X3 + + + bi - + - + e +
 X8 + . . + + + + ne ne? (traces)

16. ka-ġiri₃-za lah₅-àm

N76 (traces)
 N88 + + /ra? ka-ġiri₃\-za + o
 Ur11 + + + ù-mu-e-X [(X)]
 X3 + + + + +
 X8 omits

17. ugnim-zu nam-ba-lá-e

N76 + + + bí ++
 N88 . + + + e +
 Ur11 + bi te-a + o o o
 X3 . (traces)
 X8 + - te-a + + + .

18. ul₄-la-bi ġá-nam-ma

N76 + + + + + +;
 N88 o o . . . o
 Ur11 + + + + + +
 X3 o . o o o .
 X8 + + + . . .;

19. a-ma-ru-kam

N76 + + + +
 N88 o . . .
 Ur11 + + + +
 X3 + + + +
 X8 + + + +

SEpM 4. Nanna-ki'ag̃ to Lipit-Ištar (B4, 3.2.3)

Sources

N35 = CBS 2231 + UM 29-15-384 (PBS 5 65)	= 11–15
N40 = CBS 7848 + CBS 7856 (PBS 13 46 + Ali pl. xxx–iii)	= 12–19
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv–xxv)	= 1–19
N81 = Ni 9708 + Ni 1281 (ISET 1 179 = UMBS 17/11 15 + ISET 2 116)	= 1–12, 17–19
N86 = UM 29-13-20 + UM 29-13-24 (+ un-numbered fragment) (Ali 1964, pl. liii; *join to be published by J. Peterson)	= 1–4
N88 = N 1513	= 1
N97 = N 7442 + N 7913 + N 7925 (*to be published by J. Peterson)	= 4–6
Ur1 = U 7741 (UET 6/2 173)	= 1–11
Ur15 = (UET 6/3 564)	= 7–14
X6 = BM 54894	= 2–10
X7 = BM 79102	= 1–2
X8 = Crozer 206	= 1–12

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 71–75; Rowton 1967, 273 (transliteration, translation and commentary ll. 9–11, 15–16); Frayne 1992, 35f. (translation and commentary ll. 1–11); Vanstiphout 2004, 66f. (translation).
Commentary: Michalowski 1980–83, 55.
Collations: Ludwig 2009, 167f. (Ur1).

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N35	G	A	N76
N40	F	B	Ur1
N76	A	C	N81
N81	C, E	D	N86
N86	D	E	N81
Ur1	B	F	N40

Textual Matrix

1. lugal-ĝá ù-na-a-dug₄

N76	+	+	++	-	+
N81	+	o	++	-	+
N86	+	+	++	+	+
N88	+	ĝu ₁₀ ra	.	.	o o
Ur1	+	+	++	+	+
X7	+	+	.	o	o o
X8	+	+	++	+	+

2. ^{m d} nanna-ki-ág ra-bi sí- kà-tum-ma

N76	+++	++	+	+	+	+	+	+
N81	+++	++	+	+	+	+/	+	-
N86	+++	o+	+	bí	+	+/	+	-
Ur1	-++	++	+	+	+ ik	ka	+	+
X6	- . +	.	.	o	o	o	o	o;
X7	+++	++	+	+	+ ik	ka	+	-;
X8	+++	++	+	+	+	ka	+	+

3. arad-zu na-ab-bé-a

N76	.	+	+	+	+	+
N81	+	+	+	+	+	.
N86	o	o	o	o	+	+
Ur1	+	+	+	+	+	+
X6	o	o	o	o	o	o
X8	+	+	+	+	+	o

4. é-dana ^{ki} lugal-ĝu₁₀ ba-an-da-bal

N76	o .	+	+	+	.	.	+	+
N81	+. .	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N86	o o	+/	o	o	o	o	o	+
N97	. .	o//	+	+	+	.	.	o
Ur1	++ da na	+ šu	+	+	+	+	+	+
X6	++	+	o	o	o	o	o	o
X8	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

5. šà é-dana ^{ki} -šě 6 me-at ugnim gu-un-gu-nu-um

N76	(traces)				+/	.	o	o	o	.
N81	++	.	.	o	o	o	o	/	+	+
N86	o o	o	o	+/	(traces)					
N97	++	+	+	o//	+	+	.	/	DIŠ	+/ma\
Ur1	.	+	+	da na-	+	+	+	+/	.	+
X6	+	.	+	+	+	+	o	o	o/	.
X8	++	+	+	+	600	+	-	+		+

6. ^m at-tá-ma-an-nu-um ba-ni-in-kur₉

N76 o . ta + + + + e + + . +
 N81 ++ + + - + + . o o o
 N97 ++ ta + - + o o o o o
 Ur1 o + + + - + + + + + +
 X6 (broken but likely with l. 5)
 X8 ++ + + - + + e + + + +

7. ugnim-bi iri-saĝ-an-na libir-ra-šè ku₄-ku₄-dè la-ba-šum₂

N76 . + + + + + + + + / + + + + + +
 N81 + + + . o o o o o // + + + + + o
 Ur1 omits
 Ur15 o o o o o o o o o /* . + + o o o
 X6 + + . o o o o o o o o o o o o o o
 X8 omits

*Ur15: unclear if new line or indented

8. iri^{ki} gibil-àm al-dúr-ru-ne-eš

N76 o o + + + + + + +
 N81 ++ + + + + + o o
 Ur1 . + + + + + + + +
 Ur15 . + + - +! . o o o
 X6 . - + + o o o o o
 X8 omits

9. ugnim-bi gú íd-amar-^d suen-ka-ta

N76 . + + + + + + + +
 N81 + + + + . o o o o
 Ur1 . - gu un gu nu um // o . . . + . o
 Ur15 + + g[u...] o o o o o o o o
 X6 + o o o o o o o o
 X8 + - gu un gu nu um (traces)

10. šeg₁₂ dù-ù-dè du-un-nu-um^{ki} ak-dè

N76 o + + + + + + + +
 N81 o o + + + o o o o o .
 Ur1 o o o o . + + + . o o
 Ur15 . + + + . o o o o o o
 X6 traces
 X8 + du8?. + + + o + - . .

11. ù íd ba-al-c-dè ba-ĝen

N35 . o o o o o o o
 N76 o o o + + + + +
 N81 o o . + o o o o
 Ur1 o o o . + . o o
 Ur15 . . + + o o o o
 X8 na

12. tukum-bi lugal-ĝu₁₀ NIM^{ĝis} pan^{ĝis} gag-pan

N35 . o o o // + + . o o o
 N40 . . . o o / + gag + + . .
 N76 o o . + + ki + + + + +/
 N81 (one wedge preserved mid-line)
 Ur15
 X8 o o . . + ki o o o o o

13. ^{ĝis} má tur-tur šu-ku₆-bi-šè

N35 + + . o o o o o
 N40 + + + + + + + +!
 N76 [(x?)] x? + + + + x x
 Ur15 o o . + + o o o

14. ^{kuš} a-ĝá-lá kešc₂-da-bi ^{ĝis} tukul^{ĝis} [...]

N35 + + + o o o o // + + + o
 N40 + o o o / + + + + + o
 N76 o o o o + + + + . o o x x
 Ur15 o o o . . o o o o // (traces)

15. á mè nu-um-ta-è

N35 o o // + + . o
 N40 + + [(x?)] + un + .
 N76 o o o + + .

16. ugnim-bi gú íd-amar-^d suen-ka-ta

N35 . o o o o o o o o
 N40 . .? + + . o o o o
 N76 . o + + + o o o +

17.	šeg ₁₂	ba-dù-e	[du-un-nu-um]	ba-ak-e	
N35	.	o o o	o	o o o	o o o
N40	+	- + ù	o	o o o	o o o //
N76	+	+ + +	o	o o o	o o +/
N81	o	o o o	o	o o o	+ . o
		ù íd		al-ba-al-e	
N40		+ +	[d]/a\?	+ +	. o
N76		+ +		o o o	+
N81		o o		. + +	.

18.	lugal-ĝu ₁₀	nam-ba-e-šc-ba-e-dè	
N40	+	+ .	+ + + + .
N76	+	+ .	o o o o o .;
N81	o	o .	+ . + + + +

19.	a-ma-ru-kam	
N40	+	+ + o
N76	+	+ + + +
N81	o	o o +

SEpM 5. Lipit-Ištar to Nanna-ki'ag̃ (B5, 3.2.4)**Sources**

N39	= CBS 7132	= 7-17
N40	= CBS 7848 + CBS 7856 (PBS 13 46 + Ali pl. xxxviii)	= 1-17
N78	= Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv-xxv)	= 1, 7-17
X5	= Ash 1923-408 (OECT 13, 1)	= 1-17

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 76-79.

Commentary: Rowton 1967, 273; Michalowski 1980-83, 55; Civil 2003, 53 (ll. 8-10); Vanstiphout 2004, 67f. (translation).

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N40	A	A	N40
N76	B	B	N76

Textual Matrix

1. ^{m d} nanna-ki-ág̃ ra-bi-sí- kà-tum-ma

N40 + + + + + + + + + + o

N76 . . o o o o o o + + +

X5 - . + - - + + +ik ka + -

2. ù-na-dug₄

N40 + + +

X5 + + a +

3. ^m li-pí-it-eš₄-tár lugal-zu na-ab-bé-a

N40 + + + + + + + + + + + +

X5 ^d + + - + + - + + + + + +

4. mu erin₂ lú-kúr-ra-ke₄ lugal ù-na-dug₄ šu mu-e-taka₄

N40 + + + + + + + + + / + + + +

X5 + - + + + + - + bí zu + bí - . a

5. ^m at-tá-ma-nu-um lú lugal-a-ni-ir bí-in-sa₆-ge

N40 + + + + + + + + + + / + + + +

X5 - + + + + + arad + + + + / + + + +;

6. dirig-zu-šè arad lugal-a-ni-ir na-nam

N40 + + + + + + + + +
X5 + + + lú - - - + àm

7. a-na-aš-àm $\hat{g}e_{26}$ -e <<ù>> nu-zu- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ -ta

N39 o o o o o o . + + + +
N40 + + + + + + + + + +/
N76 o . + + o o o o o o o/
X5 see alternate line 7A below

za-e šu $\hat{g}$ ar lugal-zu li-bí-in- $\hat{g}i_4$

N39 o o o o . + + + + +
N40 + + + + + + + + + +
N76 + + + + o o o o o o

7A. a-na-aš-àm erin₂ šu šà-šè i- $\hat{g}$ ál-a- $\hat{g}$ á

X5 + + + + + + + + + + ./

nam-lú-ulu₃-ba li-bí- $\hat{g}$ ar

X5 + + + + + + +

7B. ne-éš erin₂ mu-un- $\hat{g}$ á- $\hat{g}$ á-e

X5 + + + + + + + +

8. á-še 2 li-mu-um erin₂ lú $\hat{g}is$ šukur

N39 o o o o + + + + +
N40 + + + + + + + + +
N76 + + 4 + . o o o o o
X5 - - 3 + + + + + + + + ke₄

9. 2 li-mu-um erin₂ lú $\hat{g}is$ pan

N39 o o o . + + + +
N40 1 + + + + + + +
N76 2 + + + o o o o
X5 + + + + + + + + ke₄

10. 2 li-mu-um erin₂ lú dur₁₀ -tab-ba

N39 o o o o + + + + /dur10? \ + + /
N40 + + + + + + + + + + /
N76 + + + + o o o o o o
X5 1 + + + + + $\hat{g}is$ + + + ke₄ //

im-mu-e-ši-sar

N39 o o ++ o
 N40 + + +++
 N76 o o . . .
 X5 . ma -- + eš

11. lú-kúr iri-gibil-a al-dúr-ru-ne-eš

N39 o o o o . + + + . o
 N40 + + + + + + + +
 N76 o o o o o o o + na -
 X5 . + + + + + + éš;

12. ki-tuš-bi-ta sar-bí-ib

N39 o o o . + ++
 N40 + + + + + + .
 N76 o o o . + ++
 X5 . ./ + +! nam o o

13. kíġ-šè šu ì-ġar-re-ne nam-bí-še-ga

N39 o o o o o + + + +ib + +
 N40 + + + + + + + + o o
 N76 o o o o o . + . . .
 X5 o NE + zi ba /x\o o o o o o

14. iri dili-dili zag-ba zag-za en-nu-ùġ-bi ak-ab

N39 o o o o o + zu a o o . + +/ak\ bi /ib\
 N40 + + + + + + + + . o o o
 N76 o o o . . + zu a + + + + + +*
 X5 (traces)

*N76: ab written over erasure.

15. iri-bi šu-zu-ta la-ba-ra-è

N39 o o o o o + + + + x
 N40 + + + - + + + + o
 N76 . . + + + + + + +
 X5 o o o x x x + . .

16. nam-lú-ulu₃-zu ġar-bí-ib

N39 o o o o o o o;
 N40 + + + + + bi -
 N76 + + + + + + +;
 X5 o o o . + /x\ o

17.	a-ma-ru-kam			
N39	.	.	.	+
N40	+	.	o	o
N76	.	+	+	+
X5	o	o	+	.

SEpM 6. Ur-saga to a King (B6, 3.3.1)**Sources**

N33 = 3N-T923, 502	= 5–11
N40 = CBS 7848 + CBS 7856 (PBS 13 46 + Ali 1964, pl. xxxviii)	= 1–2
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv–xxv)	= 1–5, 9–14
N81 = Ni 9708+ Ni 1281 (ISET 1 179 + ISET 2 116)	= 1–2
N86 = UM 29-13-20 + UM 29-13-24 + un-numbered fragment (Ali pl. liii; *join to be published by J. Peterson)	= 7–9
N87 = UM 29-16-480 (to be published by J. Peterson)	= 8–13
N93 = N 3116 (Ali 1964, pl. 1)	= 1–2
N95 = N 5875 (to be published by J. Peterson)	= 4–7
N96 = N 6394 (to be published by J. Peterson)	= 7–8
Ur4 = U 16849 (UET 6 177)	= 1–14
Ur14 = (UET 6 /3 560)	= 12–14
Is1 = IB 1706 (Krebern timer 1992, 105, fig. 10, pl. 56)	= 1–14
Uk1 = W 16743a (AUWE 23 159 no. 114, photo in <i>ZA</i> 44, pl. I)	= 1–14
Uk2 = W 16743b (AUWE 23 160 no. 115, photo in <i>ZA</i> 44 2, pl. II)	= 1–14
X1 = AO 8198	= 1–14
X8 = Crozer 206	= 7–14
X9 = Edin 09-405-32 (Langdon, BL 5)	= 1–14
X17 = VAT 867 (VAS 17 36)	= 1–2 (3 times)
X21 = YBC 6711	= 1–14

Bibliography: Editions (transliteration, translation, commentary): Langdon 1914, 25; Falkenstein 1938, 1–25; Ali 1964, 80–84; Michalowski 1976, 12–14; Krebern timer 1992, 105–107; Conti 2000, 132 (X17).

Transliteration: Cavigneaux 1996, 60–1 (Uk1, Uk2).

Collations: Ludwig 2009, 171 (Ur4).

Translation & Commentary: Hallo 1968, 75–76.

Translation: Kramer 1969, 382.

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N76	E	A	Uk1
N86	G	B	Uk2
N93	F	C	X9
Ur4	D	D	Ur4
Uk1	A	E	N76
Uk2	B	F	N93
X9	C	G	N86

Textual Matrix

X17a = obv row 1&2

X17b = rev row 1 &2

X17c = obv bottom right hand corner

X17d = rev bottom, very faint, inscribed when clay already drying

1.	lugal	gud	igi	gùn	sum ₄	na ⁴	za-gìn	lá- ĝu ₁₀ -úr
N40	+	+	+	+	+	mú	o o o	o o o
N76	+	+	+	+	+		+ + +	+ a + +
N81	+	+	+	+	+		- + +	+ + +;/
N93	+	+	+	+	+		+ + o	o o o
Ur4	+	+	+	+	+		- + .	o o o
Is1	.	o	o	o//o			o + .	. . .
Uk1	+	+	+	+	+		+ + +	+ + /ra? [?] \
Uk2	+	.	+	+	+		+ + +	+ + +
X1	m+	+	+	+	+		. o o	o o o
X9	+	+	+	(erasure)			+! +!	+! + +
X17a	+	+	+	+	KA mú	-	+ + duru5	- - -;
X17b	+	+	+	+	KA mú	-	+ +	- - -;
X21	+	+	+	+	+	o	(traces around edge)	

Uk2 (written above the line): *a-na šar-ri ša ki al-pi šī-it-ha-ru* qī-bi-ma*

*Collated; clearly different from first -ri

X17c

(1.) lugal-gu-/ĝi₁₆\-ru *following Conti 2000, 132

(2.) si za-ĝi-/ru\

(3.) mu-dù?

X17d

(1.) a-la-am ku₆-/sig₁₇* *partially erased(2.) /ù-na-dug₄* *partially erased2. ù-na-a-dug₄

N40	+*. o o
N76	o . -+
N81	++ -+
N93	++ o o
Ur4	++ + .
Is1	(traces)
Uk1	++ ++
Uk2	++ ++
X1	++ ++
X9	+!. -+

X17a . . - .
X17b . . - .
X21 ++ . +

*N40: ù followed by erasure

3. alan kù-sig₁₇ u₄ du₁₀-ga dú-da
N76 o o + +
Ur4 + + + + + + + o
Is1 o . o o . + + +
Uk1 + + + + + + + +
Uk2 + + + + + + + +
X1 + + + + + + + /x\
X9 + + + + + + +ud +
X17a ^d+ . + + + + ù tu
X17b ^d+ + + + + + ù tu
X21 + . . + + + . .

Uk2: *ša-lam_x* (LUM) *hu-ra-ši i-nu-mi ta-bu* UD.DA

4. áb-za-za amaš kù-ga buluĝ₃-ĝá
N76 omits
N95* o o o . + + + +/
Ur4 + + + + + + + o /
Is1 omits
Uk1 + + + + + + + +
Uk2 + + + + + + + +
X1 omits
X9* + + + + + + + + //
X21 + + o . + + + +

*N95: Inserted after line 5

šà kù ^d inana-ke₄ pàd-da
N95 o o o o + + +
Ur4 + + + + ta o o
Uk1 + + + + o x x
Uk2 + + + + ta (gl:)wa-tu + +
X9 + + + + + + +
X21 + /x\
o o o o o o

5. en nir-gál^d inana-gû₁₀-úr ù-na-dè-tah

N33	o	o	o	o	o	o	o//	.	o	o	o
N76	o	o	o	o	+	—	ra	+	+	+	+
N95	o	o	o	o	.	—	ra/	o	o	.	
Ur4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	ne	+	.
Is1	+	o	.	+	+	+	o//	.	.	.	o
Uk1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	ne	+	+
Uk2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	/ne\	.	+
X1	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	//	+	+	+
X9	+	+	+	+	+	ke4	-//	+	+	+	+
X21	+	+	o	+	+	nu	+	?//	+	ne	+

6. za-e dím-ma-zu dumu an-na-me-en

N33	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N86	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N95	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	
Is1	+	+	+	+	o//.		+	+	.	.	
Uk1	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Uk2	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	*
X1	+	+	+	+	ta	+	.	.	o	o	
X9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X21	zé	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	ke4	

*Uk2 adds: [x[?]] *wa* /x x\ [x] /x\—*ra-ni*

7. dug₄-ga-zu inim diġir-ra-gin₇

N33	+	+	.	o	o	o	o/				
N86	.	o	o	o	o	o	o//				
N95	o	o	o	o	..?	..?	..?				
N96	o	o	o	o	+	+	o/				
Ur4	+	+	+	+	+	+	—				
Is1	+	+	+	+/+	+	+	.				
Uk1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
Uk2	.	+	+	+	+	+	+				
X1	+	+	+	+	+	.	..?//				
X8	o	.	.	+	.	.	o				
X9	+	+	+	+	+	+	ta?? //				
X21	+	+	+	+	.	x	KA				

10.	lugal-ĝu ₁₀	bar-ĝá	èn	li-bí-in-tar	dumu	uri ₂	^{ki}	-ma-me-en
N33	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o o /
N76	.	o	o	+	+	+	+	+
N86	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N87	o	o	+	+	+	-	+	.
Ur4	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Is1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Uk1	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Uk2	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
X1	o	o	o	.	+	+	.	o o //
X8	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	-
X9	+	ĝá	+	+	+	+	o	+
X21	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+

*Uk1: Traces indicate only 3 signs in the break.

11.	tukum-bi	lugal-ĝá	an-na-dùg
N33	.	.	.
N76	.	+	+
N87	o	+	.
Ur4	+	+	+
Is1	+	+	+
Uk1	+	+	+
Uk2	+	+	+
X1	+	+	+
X8	+	+	+
X9	+	+	+
X21	+	+	+

12.	é ad-da-ĝá	lú nam-ba-an-tùm
N76	+ o o ĝu10	+ + + + +
N87	o o o .	. o o o o
Ur4	+ + + +	+ + + + +
Ur14	. o o o	o o o o o
Is1	+ ab ba ĝu10	+ + . + tùm
Uk1	+ + + +	+ . + + +
Uk2	+ + + +	+ + + + +
X1	+ + + +	+ + + + +
X8	+ ab ba –	+ + + + +
X9	+ + + –	+ + + + DA
X21	+ + + +	+ + + +/ +

13.	ki-ùr é ad-da-âá					lú nam-mu-da-an-kar-re					
N76	+	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N87	o	o	o	o	o	.	./o	o	o	o	o
Ur4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+
Ur14	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o
Is1	+	+	-	ab	ba	âu10	+	+	o	o	o
Uk1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Uk2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/
X1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	ab	+
X8	+	+	+	ab	ba	+	+	+	ta	+	.
X9	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+	x
X21	+	+	-?	+	+	+	+	ba?	+/	ab	+

*X1: erased sign after -da-

14.	lugal-ĝu ₁₀	hé-en-zu			
N76	o	o	+	+	+
Ur4	+	+	+	+	+
Ur14	+	+	.	o	o
Is1	+	+	+	+	+
Uk1	+	+	.	+	+
Uk2	+	+	+	+	+
X1	+	+	+	+	+
X8	+	+	+	+	+
X9	+	+	+	+	+
X21	+	+	+	+	+

SEpM 7. Lugal-šú to a king (B7, 3.3.2)**Sources**

N13 = 3N-T516 = A 30259 (Ali 1964, pl.xxviii)	= 1–9
N14 = 3N-T521 = A 30262 (Ali 1964, pl.xxviii)	= 1–11
N23 = 3N-T904, 155 (Ali 1964, pl. xlv = SLFN 23)	= 14–21
N37 = CBS 6971	= 14–16, 20–21
N40 = CBS 7848 + CBS 7856 (PBS 13 46 + Ali pl. xxxviii)	= 19–23
N42 = CBS 7857 (Ali 1964, pl.xliv = SL 44)	= 2–9
N47 = CBS 10187 (Ali 1964, pl.xxix)	= 13–23
N67 = Ni 237 (BE 31 21)	= 11–23
N68 = Ni 2758 (ISET 2 117)	= 1–7, 18–23
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxivxxv)	= 1–15, 18–23
N83 = Ni 9968 (ISET 1 200)	= 14–17
N85 = Ni 13225 + Ni 2269 + Ni 2796 + Ni 4499 (ISET 3 55 + ISET 2 123 + SLTN 129 + ISET 3 61)	= 1–20
N87 = UM 29-16-480 (*to be published by J. Peterson)	= 23
N95 = N 5875 (*to be published by J. Peterson)	= 14–18
Ur5 = U 16853 (UET 6/2 174)	= 1–11
X2 = AO 8199	= 1–11
X8 = Crozer 206	= 1–23
X12 = MS 3316 ²	= 4–23
X14 = NBC 1303 (BIN 2 53)	= 22–23
X25 = YBC 16550 ³	

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 85–91.

Commentary: Wilcke 1969, 84 (l. 15); Hallo 1998, 405 n. 71 (new ms. YBC 16550); Jaques 2006, 320 ex. 478 (ll. 20–22), 372 n. 796 (l. 11); Woods 2008, 199 ex. 297 (l. 7), 253 ex. 534 (l. 11).

Collations: Ludwig 2009, 168f. (Ur5).

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N13 = D	A = N76
N14 = B	B = N14
N23 = K	C = N68
N40 = L	D = N13
N42 = F	E = N85
N47 = J	F = N42
N67 = I	G = Ur5

² Collations courtesy of K. Volk (June 11, 2009).

³ I did not have access to this tablet.

N68 = C

N76 = A

N85 = H, E

Ur5 = G

H = N85

I = N67

J = N47

K = N23

L = N40

Textual Matrix

1.	lugal	zalag-ga-ni	iti ₆ -gin ₇	kur-kur-ra
N13	+	+	- a +	+ + o o o o/
N14	+	+	+ a +	+ + + + + +/
N68	+	+	- a +	+ + . o o o o//
N76	+	+	+ +	. . . + +
Ur5	o	o	o o o o	+ o o o//
X2	o	+	+ + + +	+ + o o
X8	+	+	+ + + +	+ + + -

pa è-a ù-na-dug₄

N13	+	+	+	. o o
N14	+	+	+	++ +
N68	+	+	+	++ o
N76	+	+	+	// ++ +!
N85	.	o	o	// o o .
Ur5	o	o	o	. o o
X2	o	o	o	// ++ +
X8	-	+	dè	++ .

2. lugal ^d utu-gin₇ di si sá ku₅-ku₅-dè

N13	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	o
N14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	./
N68	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o//
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
N85	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+/
Ur5	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	./
X2	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/
X8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

eš-bar ^d ištaran-gin₇ si sá-sá-e-ra

N13	o	o	o	o	o/	+	+	o	o	o
N14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N42	o	o	o	o	o	.	.	o	o	o
N68	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o
N76	o	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	-	+
N85	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	+	-	+
Ur5	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	.
X2	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X8	ĜEŠ ^š	+	.	.	-	+	+	/x\	-	-

3. lugal šùd-dè ġiš̄ tuku-ġu₁₀-úr ù-na-dè-tah

N13	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o
N14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N42	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	++	.	.	.
N68	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	//o	ne	+	.
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	+
N85	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	//o	o	+	+
Ur5	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	/	o	o	.
X2	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	//o	.	+	+
X8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	e	+

4. ^m lugal-šú dumu nibru ^{ki} arad₂-zu na-ab-bé-a

N13	+	+	nesaġ	e	+	+	o/	o	o	o	o	o
N14	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N42	o	o	o		o	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
N68	o	.	+		+	+	+/o		+	+	+	+
N76	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	o	o	.
N85	o	o	o		o	+	+/o		o	o	.	++
Ur5	o	o	o		o	.	+	o	o	o	o	o
X2	o	o	o		+	+	+/o		o	o	+	++
X8	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?
X12	o	o	o		o	o	o	o	/x\	+	+	++

5. udu-gin₇ ka ú gu₇- ġu₁₀ mu-e-pàd naġa dúb-ba i-ni-til

N13	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o
N14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	++	++
N42	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+/	o	.	+	+++	+++
N68	o	o	.	+	+	.	.	- +//	o	.	+	+++	+++
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	.	+	ooo	ooo
N85	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	.	+/	o	o	o	+++
Ur5	o	o	o	.	+	-	+	ni in +!//					
X2	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	- +//	o	.	+	+	+++
X8	+	+	+	+	+	ġá	+	-	+	o	.	+	+++
X12	o	o	o	o	./a\	.	+	a	+	NI/o	.	.	/x\ in? ùl

6. gu₄ ^{ġiš̄} šudul₄-a nu-ub-ha-za lá-gin₇

N13	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
N14	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+/
N42	o	o	o	o	+	-	+	+	+	a	+/
N68	o	o	o	o	+	-	+	.	+	a	+/
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N85	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	a	+/
Ur5	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	-	+/	+/
X2	o	o	.	+	+	-	+	+	la	+/	+/
X8	+	+	šu	+	-	+	.	+	+	+	+
X12	+	-	+	.	o	o	.	o	o	o	o

edin-na ba-ab-ġen-ne-en

N13	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N42	o	o	o	.	.	+	+
N68	o	o	.	+	+	+	+
N76	+	e	o	o	o	o	o
N85	o	o	o	.	+	+	+
Ur5	o	o	+	+	+	+	+
X2	o	o	+	+	+	+	+
X8	o	o	.	+/o	o	.	.

7. áb amar-bi nu-ub-da-lá-a-gin₇ ġu arhuš-a im-me

N13	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	o
N14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+	+
N42	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N68	o	o	.	+	.	.	.	./	o	o	o	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	..?	o
N85	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+/	o	o	o	.	+
Ur5	o	o	o	o	+	-	+	+/	o	o	+	i	+
X2	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	-+/	+	+	+	+	+
X8	+	+	gin7+	.	/ta\	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
X12	+	+	.	o	.	.	-	+	/KA	x\	-	MU+	+

8. u₈ sila₄-bi é-ubur-ra dab₅-ba-gin₇ šu ba-ab-dab₅-bé

N13	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o
N14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	ni	+	+	+
N42	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+/	o	o	o	.	.
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o
N85	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+/	+	ni	o	o	+
Ur5	o	o	o	o	.	.	.	+/	o	.	+	+	+
X2	o	o	o	o	.	-	+	+/	o	+	+	+	+
X8	+	!	LA	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	(traces)	en
X12	.	+	.	.	+	.	.	a	+/	.	o	.	+

9. mušen-gin₇ ġuð-ġá lú šu ba-ni-in-ti

N13	.	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o
N14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
N85*	+	-	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+	-
Ur5	omits									
X2	o	-	+	+/	o	.	+	+	+	+
X8*	+	+	+	+	..?	.	+	.	+	+
X12*	+	+	+	-	.	o	o	o	.	+

*N85: ll. 9-10 on edge of Ni 2769, as if copyist forgot the lines and so added them in later on.

*X8, X12: place l. 9 after l. 10

10.	gīs	má	kar	gi-na-a	li-bí-ib-	tak ₄ -a-gin ₇
N14	+	+	+	+	+	àm + . - tak4 + + +/
N76	+	+	+	+	+	- ++ + + + +
N85	-	+	+	+	+	++ + + + +/
Ur5	o	o	o	o	o	o . + + + + +//
X2	+	+	-	+	+	++ + + + + kar re -
X8*	+	+	+	++*	+	- ++/x\ + (traces)
X12*	-	+	+	+	+	- + [...]/x\ im-dab5

*X8, X12 place l. 10 before l. 9, after l. 8

**X8: (erased ba?) after gi-

tum₉-e ba-ab-dirig-ge-en

N14	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
N76	+	-	+	.	o	o	o
N85	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur5	o	o	o	.	+	.	-
X2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X12	o	o	o	o	.	+	-

11. i-si-iš sila nibru ^{ki}-ka mu-gu₇-e-en

N14	++++	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N67	++++	+	+	+	+	.	.	-
N76	++++	+	+	ke4	+	+	.	o
N85	omits							
Ur5	o o o o	o	o	o	.	o	o	o
X2	++++	+	+	++//	+	+	-	+
X8	++++	+	+	+	+	+	.	.
X12	++ . o	.	+	.	o	o	! .	.

12. iri kúr iri-ĝá mu-da-an-kur₉ lú èn tar-re la-ba-tuku

N67	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	++	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	++	.	o	o	o
N85	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	++//	++	+	+	+/an\	+
X8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	+
X12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	./	++	+	+	++	ab .

13. é kúr é-ĝá mu-da-an-kur₉ ugu-ĝá-aš ba-ab-du₂₄

N47	o o	o o	o	o	o	o	o//+	+	+	+	.	.
N67	++	++	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+	+
N76	++	++	.	.	-	.	.	.	o	o	o	o
N85	++	++	+	o	o	+/	+	+	+	+	+	.
X8	++	++	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	+	+	.
X12	++	++	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+	+	dull

14. iri-âá saĝ-gin₇ kug la-ba-ni-de₆

N23	o	o	o	.	.	.	o	o	o
N47	.	.	.	+	.	.	+++//		
N67	+	+	+	+	+	+	+++/		
N76	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o
N83	(traces)								
N85	+	+	+	+	+	+	+++!/+		
N95	.	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+++		
X12	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

siki saĝ mu-dur₇ ba-lá

N23	/saĝ\	+	-	+	.	+	o		
N37		o	o	o	o/	+	o		
N47		+	+	.	.	+	+		
N67		saĝ	siki	+	+	+	+		
N76		o	o	o	o	o	o		
N83	(traces)								
N85		+	+	+	+	+	+		
N95		o/	..?	..?	o	o	o		
X8		..?	o	.	o	+	an+		
X12		+	/x\	-	-	.	an+		

15. gu₅-li du₁₀-sa zu-a kal-la-ĝu₁₀

N23	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
N37	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
N47	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	o
N67	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N83	o	.	+	+	+	+	.	o	
N85	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	
N95	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X8	+	+	+ús!..!	+	+	.	o	o	
X12	.	+	+ús	+	+	+	.	.	

16. lú dili gu₇-ù-gin₇ igi tur mu -gíd-eš

N23	+	+	+	+	/	+	+	+	un	+	o
N37	o	o	+	.	+/	o	o	o	o	.	
N47	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	+	+	
N67	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	+
N83	o	o	o	.	+	+	+	./un\	o	o	
N85	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	un	.	i
N95	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X8	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	da?	+/dè?	x (x?)\
X12	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	dè	

17. ama ugu- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ u₄-sakar ubur-ra-bi

N23	+	+	+	ù	+	+	o	o
N47	+	+	+	+	+	+	a	.?
N67	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/
N83	(traces)							
N85	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	gin7;/
N95	+	+	+	.?	o	o	o	o;/
X8	omits							
X12	omits							

18. dùg-ge-eš ga- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ gu₇- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ ka- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ -ta ba-an-kar

N23	.	+	+	x	+	+	+	+	.	o/+	+	+	o
N47	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N67	+	+	+	KA	ga	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N68	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	.
N76	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	.
N85	+	+	+	*+	.	.	+/+	+	+	+	.	+	+
N95	+	+	+	KA	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X8	omits												
X12	omits												

*N85: eš followed by erasure

19. a-a- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ šà úr-bi-ta gùr- gùr-ru-a

N23	.	+	.	o	.	.	.	o	o	o	o/
N47	.	++	.	+	+	e	+/	[mu]un	.	.	+/
N67	+++	+	+	+	+	mu	un	+	-	+/	
N68	ooo	.	ùr	+	+	+		+	+	+	+/
N76	ooo	o	o	o	o	o		o	o	o	o
N85	+++	+	+	.	o	+		+	o	o	
X8	omits										
X12	omits										

ki-ta ba-an- $\hat{g}ar$ -re-en

N23	+	+	+	o	o	o	o
N40	x	x	+	+	o	o	o
N47	.	+	+	+	+	-	-
N67	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N68	o	o	o	.	+	!	o
N76	o	o	o	o	.	+	+
N85	o	.	+	.	o	o	o

20. nin arhuš-a-ĝu₁₀ é-bi ba-kal igi nu-mu- ši-bar-re

N23	o	o	o o	.	.	+	o/	o	.	+un	.	o	o
N37	+	+	.	o	o	o	o/	+	+	o	o	o	o
N40	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N47	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+un	+	-	+en
N67	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+in	+	+
N68	o	o	.	+	+	+	+an	./	o	o	+un	+	+
N76	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+
N85	o	o	+	+	/x\	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X8	omits												
X12	omits												

21. ĝiš hul gurun nu-íl-la-ĝin₇ lú na-ma-ši-húl-le

N23	o	o	.	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N37	o	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N40	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	/	+	+	+	o	o
N47	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+	+	+
N67	+	.	.	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N68	o	.	.	+	+	+	+/	.	+	+	+	+	e
N76	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+
N85	(traces)												
X8	+	húl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	..?	..?
X12	+	+	+	+	+	+	a	+	+	+/	+	+	+

22. ĝiš gibil- ĝiš gibil-me-en ĝiš isimu₂ sar

N40	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o
N47	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+
N67	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
N68	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	/x\
N76*	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+
X8	o	.	-	+	+	+	+	MU
X12	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
X14	-	+	-	+	e	+	.	.

nu-tuku-me-en ur₃-re nam-ba- tùm

N40	o	o	o	o/	+	+	nu?	o	o
N47	o	.	+	+/	o	.	.	.	+
N67	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+	túm un
N68	.	.	o	o/	+	+	+	+	an o
N76	+	+	+	+/	o	o	+	+	túm un
X8	+	+	-	+	.	o	o	o	/x\
X12	+	+	+	+/	+	ra	+	+	an +
X14	+	+	ĝe26	-	+/	+	ra	-	+/x*+ mu

*X14: erased mu?

23. lugal-ĝu₁₀ èn-ĝu₁₀ hé-tar-re ki-ùr-ĝu₁₀-šè

N40	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o/
N47	o	o	o	o	o	.	//	o	o	o
N67	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N68	+	+	+	+	.	.	o	//	+	+
N76	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	o
N87	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X8	+	+	.	.	o	o	o	o	o	o
X12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X14	omits									

hé-em-mi-ib-ĝi₄-ĝi₄

N40	+	+	.	o	o	o
N67	+	+	+	ib	+	+
N68	+	+	+	x\	o	o
N76	.	+	+	+	+	in
X12	+	!	+	+	.	o

23a. lugal-ĝu₁₀ hé-en-zu

X14 + + + + +

SEpM 8. Lugal-nesage to a King (B8, 3.3.3)**Sources**

N12 = 3N-T480 = A 30249 (Ali 1964, pl. xlix)	= 1–15
N20 = 3N-T827 = UM 55-21-381 (Ali 1964, pl. xlviii)	= 1–8, 12–15
N26 = 3N-T907, 263 (SLFN 24)	= 4–9
N34 = CBS 2206 (+) UM 29-15-341 (Ali 1964, pl. xlviii (+) Ali 1964, pl. 1)	= 1–7, 10–25
N40 = CBS 7848 + CBS 7856 (PBS 13 46 + Ali pl. xxxviii)	= 1–4
N42 = CBS 7857 (Ali 1964, pl. xlv = SL 44)	= 24–25
N43 = CBS 7929 (Ali 1964, pl. xxix)	= 7–23
N67 = Ni 2376 (BE 31 21)	= 1–2
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 3431 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv–xxv)	= 1–25
N85 = Ni 13225 + Ni 2269 + Ni 2796 + Ni 4499 (ISET 3 55 + ISET 2 123 + SLTN 129 + ISET 3 61)	= 7–18
N86 = UM 29-13-20 + UM 29-13-24 (+ un-numbered fragment) Ali 1964, pl. liii; *join to be published by J. Peterson	= 5–9
N87 = UM 29-16-480 (*to be published by J. Peterson)	= 1–4
N90 = N 1562 (Ali 1964, pl. xlix)	= 1–7, 24–25
N92 = N 2949	= 21–25
Ur1 = U 7741 (UET 6/2 173)	= 1–10
Ki1 = (PRAK 1 B 88)	= 13–21
X8 = Crozer 206	= 19–24

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 92–98; Alster 1987, 58f. (N43, K1).

Commentary: Civil 1988, 4 (correction to Alster 1987).

Collations: Ludwig 2009, 167f. (Ur1).

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N12	A	A	N12
N20	B	B	N20
N34	E	C	N76
N40	H	D	Ur1
N43	K	E	N34
N76	C	F	N90
N85	G, J	G	N85
N86	I	H	N40
N90	F	I	N86
Ur1	D	J	N85
		K	N43

Textual Matrix

1. lugal^d utu-gin₇ šà kalam-ma mu-un-zalag-ga

N12	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	.
N20	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N34	+	++	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o
N40	+	++	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N67	+	++	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
N76	.	.	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+
N87	o	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N90	o	o	+	+	+	.	./	o	+	+
Ur1	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2. ù-na-dug₄

N12	++	+
N20	++	+
N34	++	a o
N40	+	.
N67	++	+
N76	++	+
N87	+	o
N90	o	.
Ur1	++	a +

3. i-^d utu ab-sín-ta íb-ta-an-zi-ga

N12	+	++	+	+	+	ub	+	+	+	+
N20	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N34	+	++	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o
N40	+	++	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o
N76	+	++	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.
N87	+	++	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N90	o	o	o	+	+	+	o	o	o	.
Ur1	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	aš

4. ti-id-nu-um^{ki} -e šu bí-in-ĝar

N12		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+/
N20		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	dab5/
N34	GÌR	GÌR	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
N40			+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o/
N76			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N87		GÌR	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N90			o	o	o	+	-	.	.	.	./
Ur1	GÌR	GÌR	nim	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+

šibir-bi mu-un-dab₅-ba

N12	+	e	+	+	—	+	bé
N20	+		+	+	+	+	bé
N26	o		o	o	o	o	bé
N34	o		o	o	o	o	o
N40	.		+	o	o	o	o
N76	+		+	+	+	+	+
N90	o		o	.	.	+	+
Ur1	+		+	+	+	+	bé

5. lugal idim-bi-šè ab-šid-dè- a

N12	.	.	.	+	+	+	+e*+
N20	+	+	+	+	+	+	+e +
N26	o	o	o	o	o	.	+e +;/
N34	+	+	+	+	+	+	o o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N86	+	o	o	o	o/	+	o o
N90	o	o	o	o	/x\	+	+
Ur1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

*N12: e followed by erasure?

6. ù-na-dè-tah

N12	+	ne	.	o
N20	+	+	+	+
N26	o	o	o	+
N34	+	—	.	.
N76	+	+	+	+
N86	o	o	o	o
N90	o	o	o	+
Ur1	+	ne	+	+

7. ^m lugal-nesaêe-e dumu nibru ^{ki} arad₂-zu

N12	+	+	šú	—	+	+	+	+	+
N20	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	.	+
N26	o	o	o	o	o	.	+/	o	o
N34	+	+	+	+	.	.	o	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N85	o	.	šú	—	+	+	+/	+	+
N86	x	+	o	o	o	o	o/	+	o
N90	o	o	o	o	o	.	+/	o	o
Ur1	—	+	+	ê26	+	+	+	!	+

na-ab-bé-a

N12	+	+	+	+
N20	+	+	+	+
N26	o	.	+	+
N43	/.	o	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+
N85	+	+	+	+
N86	o	o	o	o
N90	o	o	o	.
Ur1	+	+	+	+

8. sul-a-lum nu-zu-ĝu₁₀ saĝ-ki ba-gíd

N12	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	+
N20	.	..	+	+	a/	.	.	+
N26	o	oo	o	o	o	o	+	+
N43	.	++	+	+	.	o	o	o
N76	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	a+;
N85	+	++	+	+/ĝa2\	+	+	+	a+
N86	x	oo	o	o	o	o	o	o
Ur1	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	+

9. tîl₄ ak-ĝu₁₀ mu-e-pàd

N12	+	a	+	+	+	+
N26	o	o	o	o	o	.
N43	o	o	o	o	o	o
N76	.	.	+	+	-	+
N85	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur1	+	+	+	+	+	+

10. iri kúr-ra tum₁₂^{mušen} -gin₇ še mi-ni-ša₄

N12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	in	+
N34	o	o	o	.	.	o	o	o	o	o;/
N43	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o;/
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N85	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+
Ur1	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	in	+

11. šà-ne-ša₄ la-ba-an-tuku

N12	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
N34	+	+	.	o	o	o	o
N43	+	+	+	+	o	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	o	o
N85	.	+	+	+	+	+	+

12. ur-gin₇ ki gam-ma nu-zu šu dag-dag-ge ba-si

N12 + + + +/ + +

N20 (traces)

N34 + + + + mà + + + . o o o o

N43 + + + + + + + + o o o o

N76 + + + + + + + + . o o

N85 + . + + + + +/+ + + + + + +

13. mušen šu súr-dù^{mušen} -ta dal-a-gin₇ ur₅-da ì-ak-en

N12 + + + + + + . . ./ + + + + e

N20 + + o o o o o o o o/ + . o o o

N34 + + + + + + + + + o o o o

N43 + + + + - + . . + . o o o o

N76 + + + + + + . o o o o o o o

N85 . + . . + + + la +/ o o + + +

Kil + + + + + x x x + x o o o o

14. ^{gis}kiri₆ a nu-dug₄-ga-gin₇

N12 + + + šu ta . + + +

N20 + + + šu ta o o o o/

N34 + + + + + + + +

N43 + + ma ta + . + +

N76 + + + šu ta . o o o

N85 + o o o o o + +/

Kil + + + - + + +

asil₃-lá-ĝu₁₀ háb-ba ba-an-ug₅

N12 +/ + . + - + . +

N20 + a + + + + + +

N34 + o o/ + + + o o

N43 . o o o o o o o

N76 o o o o o o o o

N85 . o o o o o . .

Kil x o o o o o o o

15. igi-lá é lugal-ĝá-ke₄ íb-si-ge i₅-ĝar gig ma-lá

N12 + . . + + + +/+ + + + + +

N20 + + + + + + a/. . +// + + . . +

N34 + + + + + + . o o/ + + . o o

N43 + . + + + + + o o o o o o o

N76 + + + + . o o o o o o o o

N85 + + + . o o o o o// + + . o o

Kil + + + + + + + + x o o o o

16. zarah-àm ur-gin₇ [...]

N34	.	.	+	+	o	
N43	o	.	+	+	x	o
N76	.	o	o	o	o	
N85	+	e	o	o	o	//HAR-/ru? ² \-[...]
Ki1	+	e	x	sipad ² -ba	šà a mi-ni-[...]	

17. ù-u₈-a- u₈ [...]

N34	.	.	.	.	la	x	o	//x (x)\ a/x\
N43	.	+	la	o			o	
N76	/x\	[...]	/x\	[...]				
N85	-	+	+	e		o		// N[I? ² ...]
Ki1	[x]-c-a	TÚL	E	LA	MU	X	RA	HAR-re /ha\ -x-x-[...]

18. gud-gin₇ mur-ġu₁₀ eme ba-šub₆ nu-tuku-gin₇ šu ì-ša-an-ša

N34	+	+	.	.	KA	+	.	.? ²	o	o	+	+	+	.	o
N43	+	+	+	ġá	+	+	.	o	o	o/	+	-	+	+	+
N76*	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	ab	+	.? ²	o
N85	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Ki1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

*N76: l. 18 written after l. 19

19. peš amar-ġu₁₀ ġud-bi zi ba-ni-in-ġi₄ ka ú gu₇ ba-peš

N34	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o/+	+	+	+	/x\	o
N43	peš11	+	+	+	.? ² /	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	KA/bí? ² \	o
N76*	o	o	o	.	ba	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Ki1	+	+	+	+	ba	-	ir+	+	ib	o	o	o	o	o	o
X8	o	o	+	.	+	x	x	x	x/	+	-	KA	+	+	

*N76: l. 19 written before line 18

20. edin KAL tumu ri-a-ta AŠ bad-rá-gin₇

N34	+	+	!*	+	+++	+	+	o	o/
N43	+	+	+	+	+++ gin ₇	-	-	-	-
N76	o	o	o	+	+++	+	+	.	o/
Ki1	+	+	+	+	+++	RI	+	+	+
X8	o	o	.	+	+++	+	+	+	.

é HAR-HAR-ra ba-dab₅-bé

N34	++	+	+	o	o	o
N43	++	+	+	+	o	o
N76	o	o	o	+	+	+
Ki1	++	o	o	o	o	o
X8	.	.	.	.	-	-

21.	ug ₅ -ga	ki	nu-túm-	ma-me-en	še-gin ₇	àr-[àr...]
N34	o	+	+	+	+	. o o o o
N43	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	o	o	.	+	+	+
N92	o	o	o	o	+	. o/ o . + ba o
Ki1	+	gin ₇	+	-	+	túm mu - - nu-zu + + + o
X8	.	.	+	+	?	+
						mu o o /TU?\-uš - - -
22.	šeš-ĝu ₁₀	lú	kúr	nu-me-a	igi	tur mu-un-gíd
N34	o	+	+	+	+	. o o o o o o
N43	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	.	o	.	+	+	+
N92	o	o	.	+	+	o
K1	(traces)					
X8	+	+	+	+	ra	+
						- + + + + +!
23.	[...]		gú	ki-šè	ba-lá	
N43	(traces)		.	.	.	o o
N76	saĝ [x (x?)]		+	+	+	+
N92	[...]		+	+	+	+
X8	nam? ma?-da?		+	+	+	+
24.	ša ₆ -ga-ĝu ₁₀		hul-šè	mu-da-an-sig ₁₀		
N34	+	.	o	o	o	o
N42	.	.	o	o	o	o
N76	+	+	o	+	+	+
N90	(traces)					
N92	o	o	o	.	+	+
X8	+	+	+	húl	+	+
25.	lugal KA x x		bala-ĝu ₁₀	^d utu- gin ₇	ha-ma-dirig	
N34	+	+	o	o	o	o// + + + .? o o
N42	+	+	o	o	o	o/ + + o o o o
N76	+	+	.	o	+	bala e + + .? o o o
N90	[...]		.	+	[(x?)]	
N92	o	o	o	o	o	e]n-líl-lá o o o o
X8	+	+	ga	ke4	+	+
						+ + + +!

SEpM 9. The Tumul Text (B9, 2.1.3)**Sources**

N3 = 3N-T109 = A 30146 ⁴	
N21 = 3N-T901, 37 (Ali 1964, pl. I)	= 11–17
N41 = CBS 7849 + Ni 4574 + Ni 9705 (PBS 13 48 + ISET 1 149 + ISET 1 123)	= 18–33
N50 = CBS 10471 (PBS 5 7)	= 10–33
N70 = Ni 3023 + Ni 4144 + Ni 4452 + Ni 4473 + Ni 4483 + Ni 4484 (SLTN 131 + ISET 2 123 + ISET 2 121 + ISET 2 22 + ISET 1 101 + ISET 1 67)	= 4–17, 19–25
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 3431 + N 7314* + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 3461) (ISET 2 114 + Ali, pls. xxiv–xxv) (join to be published by J. Peterson)	= 1–10, 13–30 = 1–8, 17–33
N78 = Ni 9704	= 15–24
N79 = Ni 9706 (ISET 2 111–112)	
N85 = Ni 13225 + Ni 2269 + Ni 2796 + Ni 4499 (ISET 3 55 + ISET 2 123 + SLTN 129 + ISET 3 61)	= 32–33
N86 = UM 29-13-20 + UM 29-13-24 (+ un-numbered fragment) Ali 1964, pl. liii; (new join to be published by J. Peterson)	= 5–10
N98 = HS 1454 (TMH NF 3 34)	= 1–18, 21–33
N101 = HS 1506 (TMH NF 3 35) + CBS 12614 (PBS 5 6)	= 1–33
Ur7 = U16859 (UET 8 60)	= 9–26
Ur12 = Up (UET 8 58)	= 1–31
Ur13 = Uq (UET 8 59)	= 6–29
X18 = VAT 9157 (VAS 17 44)	= 17–28

Bibliography: Editions: Sollberger 1962; Oelsner 2003; Glassner 2005, 156–159.
 Commentary, partial edition: Michalowski 2006.
 Commentary: Civil 1972, 89f.; Cooper 1999, 245f.
 Translation: Glassner 1993, 155f.; Pettinato 2003, 60–62; Michalowski 2006b,
 85–87.

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N21	H	A	N98
N41	J	B	N101
N50	L	C	N76

⁴ I did not have access to this tablet.

N70	E, K	D	N78
N76	C	E	N70
N78	D	F	N86
N79	I	G	N101
N86	F	H	N21
N98	A	I	N79
N101	B, G	J	N41
		K	N70
		L	N50

Concordance of sigla used here and by Oelsner 2003:

N21	H	A	N98
N41	J+M	B	N101
N50	L	C	N76
N70	E+K	D	N78
N76	C+N	E	N70
N78	D	F	N86
N79	I	G	N101
N86	F	H	N21
N98	A	I	N79
N101	B+G	J	N41
Ur7	U ₃	K	N70
U12	U ₁	L	N50
U13	U ₂	M	N41
		N	N76
		U ₁	Ur12
		U ₂	Ur13
		U ₃	Ur7

Concordance of sigla used here and by Michalowski 2006:

N3	N1	N1	N3
N21	N2	N2	N21
N41	N3+N8	N3	N41
N50	N4	N4	N50
N70	N7	N5	N98
N76	N12	N6	N101
N78	N9	N7	N70
N79	N10	N8	N41
N86	N11	N9	N78
N98	N5	N10	N79
N101	N6	N11	N86
Ur7	Ur3	N12	N76
Ur12	Ur1	Ur1	Ur12
Ur13	Ur2	Ur2	Ur13
X18	Unk1	Ur3	Ur7
		Unk1	X18

Textual Matrix

1. en-me-barag-ge₄-e-si lugal-e

N76 + + + . o o o o;
 N78 + + . o o o o o
 N98 + + + + + o o
 N101 o o . + + + + +
 Ur12 + + . . + - - -;

2. iri-na-nam é^d en-líl-lá in-dù

N76 o o o o o o o o o
 N78 (traces)
 N98 + + + + + . o o o
 N101 o . + + + + + DU
 Ur12 + + +/ki\ . + + + + +

3. ag-ga dumu en-me-barag-ge₄-e-si

N76 + a + + + o o o o
 N78 (traces)
 N98 + + + + + . o o
 N101 o o . + + + + + ke4
 Ur12 + + + + + + - + ke4

4. tum-ma-al^{ki} -e pa bí- i- è

N70 . o o o o o o o o
 N76 + + + + + . o o
 N78 + (traces)
 N98 + + + - + + bi5 . o
 N101 o . + + + + + + +
 Ur12 + + + + + + - +

5. ^d nin-líl tum-ma-al^{ki} -šè in-túm⁵

N70 + o o o o o o o o
 N76 + + + + + + e o o
 N78 + . o o o o o o o o
 N86 . o o o o o o o o
 N98 + + + + + - + o o
 N101 o o + + + + + + +
 Ur12 + + + + + + + + +

⁵ Contra Michalowski 2006, 149, the principle variant throughout the text is túm which conforms well to Sallaberger 2004.

6. a-rá l-a-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub

N70	++	ooo	o	o	o	o	o	o
N76	++	+++	+	+	+	o	o	o
N78	++	(traces)						
N86	++	ooo	o	o	.	.	.	+
N98	++	+++	+	+	+	o	o	o
N101	oo	o.	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur12	+	.	+-+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur13	o.	+-+	+	.	o	o	o	o

7. ^m mes-an-né-pà-da bur-šú-šú-a é ^den-líl-lá in-dù

N70	++	ooo	o	o	o	o	/	+	ooo	ooo	ooo
N76	oo	ooo	.	+	+	+	+	+	ooo	ooo	ooo
N78	-	+	.	ooo	o	.	ooo	o//	.	ooo	ooo
N86	-	+	+	+	o	o	+	+	+	+ki/+	+
N98	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	ooo	ooo
N101	oo	.	+	.	+	+	+	+	//	o	+++
Ur12*	-	+	+	+	+	lugal-e	+	šu	+	+ki/+	+++
Ur13	d	+	+	+	+	+	.	ooo	o//	++++	+++

*Ur12: ll. 7–11 written after ll. 12–16

8. ^m mes-ki-âg-nun-na dumu mēš-an-né-pà-da-ke₄

N70	++	.	ooo	o/	+	.	ooo	ooo	ooo
N76	oo	ooo	.	+	+	+	.	ooo	o
N78	-	.	ooo	o*					
N86	-	+	++	d	nan[a]	o	o	.	+++
N98	-	.	+++	+	+	+	.	ooo	ooo
N101	oo	o.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur12	-	+	+++	+	.	.	ooo	ooo	ooo
Ur13	d	+	+++	+	+	d+	ooo	ooo	ooo

*N80 traces of two more lines, illegible

9. tum-ma-al^{ki} -e pa bí -i-è

N70	+	+	.	ooo	ooo	ooo	ooo
N76	o	o	ooo	.	++	oo	oo
N86	+	+	++	-	+	bi5	in
N98	o	+	++	+	+	bi5	.
N101	o	.	+	.	+	+	.
Ur7	.	.	oo	o/	++	++	++
Ur12	+	+	++	+	oo	oo	oo
Ur13	+	+	++	+	++	++	++

10. ^d nin-líl tum-ma-al ^{ki} -šè in-túm

N70 ++ . . + . o o/ + .
 N76 (traces)
 N86 ++ + . . ++ +/ + tùm
 N98 o + + + + + + + . .
 N101 o o o o o o
 Ur7 ++ + + + + + + + +
 Ur12 ++ + + o o o o o o
 Ur13 ++ + + + + + + + +

11. a-rá 2-a-kam tum-ma-al ^{ki} ba-šub

N21 (traces)
 N70 ++ .++ + . o o o o
 N98 o . +++ + + + + . +
 N101 o o +-+ + + + + + +
 Ur7 ++ +-+ + + + + + +
 Ur12 ++ +-+ + + + + + +
 Ur13 ++ +-+ + + + + šè + +

12. ^dbil₄-ga-mes-e du₆-numun₂-bur-ra barag ^den-líl-lá in-dù

N21 . + + + - + . o o o o o o o o o
 N70 ++ + + - + /Ú\o o o/ . ++ + + o o
 N98 o + + + + + + + + //é ++ + + + +
 N101 . + + + + - + + + //o ++ + + + +
 Ur7 ++ + + + + Ú + + -//+ ++ + + + +
 Ur12* ++ + + - + Ú + búr +/ + ++ + + + +
 Ur13 ++ + + + + Ú + búr -//+ ++ + + + +

*Ur12: ll. 12–16 precede ll. 7–11

13. ^m ur-lugal dumu ^d bil₄-ga-mes-ke₄

N21 + + + + + + o o o
 N70 + . +/ . + + o o o
 N76 (traces)
 N98 - + + + + + + + +
 N101 o . + + + + + + +
 Ur7 d + + + + + + + +
 Ur12 d + + + + + + + +
 Ur13 d + + + + + + + +

14. tum-ma-al^{ki} -e pa bí-i-è

N21 + + + + + bi5 . o
 N70 . + + + + . o o o
 N76 o o . + + + . o o
 N98 + + + + + + . .
 N101 . + + + + + bi5++
 Ur7 + + + + + + +
 Ur12 + + + + + + -+
 Ur13 + + + + + + ++

15. ^dnin-líl tum-ma-al^{ki} -šè in-túm

N21 ++ + + + o o o o
 N70 o o + + + . o o/+ o
 N76 o o + + + + o o o o
 N79 . o o o o o o o o
 N98 ++ + + + + + + DÙ
 N101 . + + + + + + + + tùm
 Ur7 ++ + + + + + + +
 Ur12 ++ + + + + + + +
 Ur13 ++ + + + + + + +

16. a-rá 3-a-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub

N21 ++ +++ + + o o o o
 N70 o o o o + + + o o o o
 N76 o . +++ + + o o o o
 N79 ++ ++ o o o o o o o
 N98 ++ +++ + + + . + +
 N101 o . +-+ + + + + + +
 Ur7 ++ +-+ + + + + + +
 Ur12* ++ 2 -+ + + + + + +
 Ur13 ++ +-+ + + + + + +

*Ur12: ll. 7–11 written between lines 16 and 17

17. na-an- ni^{giš} kiri₆ mah é^d en-líl-lá in-dù

N21 (traces)
 N70 o o o . + . - o o o o/+ o
 N76 . + + + + + + o o o o o
 N78 (traces)
 N79 + + + + . o// +++ + + + +
 N98 + + + + + +a// - o o . . + +
 N101 o o na+ + + + + + + + + +
 Ur7 d+ + + + + +àm//+++ + + + +
 Ur13 d+ + + + + +àm//+++ + + + DU
 X18 o o o o o o - + + + + o

18. ^m mes-ki-ág- ^d nanna dumu na-an-ni-ke₄

N41	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+
N76	-	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o
N78	-	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o
N79	-	+	+	+	o	o	o	.	o
N98	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+
N101	o	o	o	.	+	+	+	d+	-
Ur7	d	+	+	+	+/	+	d+	+	+
Ur13	d	+	+	+	+/	+	d+	+	+
X18	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	.

19. tum-ma-al ^{ki} -e pa bí -i-è

N41	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
N70	.	o	o	o	o	o	oo
N76	+	+	+	+	+	o	oo
N78	+	.	o	o	o	o	oo
N79	+	+	o	o	o	o	oo
N101	o	o	o	o	o	+	bi5 ++
Ur13	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
Ur7	+	+	+	+	.	o	++
X18	o	o	o	o	o	o	o.

20. ^d nin-líl tum-ma-al ^{ki} -šè in-túm

N41	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N70	+	o	o	o	o	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	o	oo
N78	+	.	o	o	o	o	oo
N79	+	+	.	o	o	o	oo
N101	o	o	o	o	o	+	tùm
Ur12	.	o	.	.	o	o	oo
Ur13	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur7	+	+	+	+	+	+/	++
X18	o	o	o	o	o	o	++

21. a-rá 4-a-kam tum-ma-al ^{ki} ba-šub

N41	++	+++	+	+	+	+	+
N70	++	++o	o	o	o	o	o
N76	++	+++	+	+	o	o	oo
N78	++	+.o	o	o	o	o	oo
N79	++	+.o	o	o	o	o	oo
N98	oo	...	o	o	o	o	oo
N101	oo	ooo	o	o	+	+	++
Ur7	++	+ - +	+	+	.	o	oo
Ur12	++	+ - +	+	+	o	o	oo
Ur13	++	+ - +	+	+	+	+	++
X18	oo	ooo	o	o	o	o	++

22.	^d ur- ^d namma-ke ₄ é-kur	in-dù
N41	m + o o o o o	+ +
N50	- + + + + + +	+ +
N70	- + + . . o o	o o
N76	- + + + + + o	o o
N78	- + + + + . o o	o o
N79	- + . . . o o	o o
N98	. + + + - + .	. o
N101	o o o o o o o	o +
Ur7	+ + + + - + + é ^d e[n-líl-lá]o	+
Ur12	- + + + - + + ra	. o
Ur13	+ + + + - + + é ^d en-líl-lá/+	DU
X18	o o o o o o o	+ +

23.	^d šul-gi dumu ^d ur- ^d namma-ke ₄	
N41	m + . o o o o o	+
N50	- + + + - + + +	+
N70	- + + o o o o o	o
N76	+ + + + o o o o	o
N78	+ + + o o o o o	o
N79	- . . .! o o o o	o
N98	+ + + + - . o .	.
N101	o o o o o o o	+
Ur7	+ + + + + + + .	.
Ur12	+ + + + - + + +	+
Ur13	+ + + + + + + ka	+
X18	o o o o o o o	+

24.	tum-ma-al ^{ki} -e pa bí-i-è	
N41	+ + . o . . + + +	
N50	+ + + + + + + + +	
N70	. . o o o o o o o	
N76	+ + + + + . o o o	
N78	+ + + + + o . o o	
N79	o o o o o	
N98	+ + . - . . o o UD,(erased DU).DU!	
N101	o o o o o o o + +	
Ur7	. + + + + + + o -	
Ur12	+ + + + + + + - +	
Ur13	+ + + + + + + . .	
X18	o o o o o o o o +	

25. ^d nin-líl tum-ma-al ^{ki} -šè in-túm

N41	+	+	+	.	o	+	+	+	+	+
N50	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N70	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o
N78	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o
N79	(traces)									
N98	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	.	.	.
N101	o	o	o	o	.	.	+	+	+	tùm
Ur7	+	o	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o
Ur12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur13	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o
X18	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+

26. a-rá 5-a-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub

N41	o	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
N50	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o
N78	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o
N98	.	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	.	+
N101	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+
Ur7	o	.	+	-	+	+	+	o	o	o
Ur12	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur13	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	o	o
X18	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	+

27. mu ^d amar- ^d suen-ka-ta

N41	o	o	o	o	.	+	+
N50	šu	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	-	.	+	+	+	o	o;
N78	+	-	+	+	+	+	o
N98	o	o	+	o	o	o	+
N101	o	o	o	o	o	.	+
Ur12	omits						
Ur13	-	+	šu	+	+	-	+
X18	o	o	o	o	o	o	+

28. en-na mu ^d i-bí- ^d suen lugal-e

N41	o	o	o	o	o	.	++	+	+
N50	+	+	-	++	.	++	+	+	o
N76	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N78	+	+	-	-	++	++	+	+	.
N98	o	.	.	o	o	o	o	o	+
N101	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	+
Ur12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur13	+	+	š	u	+	+	+	o	o
X18	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	.

29. en-am-gal-an-na en ^dinanna unug ^{ki} -ga máš-e in-pà-dè

N41	o	o	.	+	+	+	++/	o	+	+	+	+	+	+
N50	.	+	+	o	o	.	..	+	o	o//	+	+	+	da
N76	+	.	o	o	o	o	oo	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N78	+	+	+	+	+	+	.. //	.	+	+	+	+	.	o
N98	o	o	o	o	o	o	oo	o	+	ga!//	o	o	o	.
N101	o	o	o	o	o	o	o.	+	+	+/	o	o	o	+
Ur12	+	me	+	+	+	+	++	+	+	+/	+	+/	+	+
Ur13	.	+	+	+	.	o	oo	o	o	o/	o	o	.	o

30. ^d nin-líl tum-ma-al ^{ki} -šè ì-DU-DU -en

N41	o	o	+	+	+	+	+++/	o	o	+	dè	+
N50	++	+	+	+	+	+	+++/	++	+	+	-	
N76	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	
N78	o	+	+	+	+	+	++	+	o	o	o	
N98	o	o	.	.	.	o	o	o	o	o	[d]è	+
N101	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	
Ur12	++	+	+	+	+	+	++	++	..?	o		

31. inim lú- ^d inana ašgab gal ^d en-líl-lá-šè sar-ra

N41	omits													
N50	+	+	++	//	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N78	o	+	++		+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o
N98	+	o	+	.	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	.	+
N101*	[													]
Ur12	+	+	++		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	aš	+	-

*N101: written after l. 33

32. ^d iš-bi-èr-ra é-kur-igi-ġál-la

N41 o o o + + + + + + _
 N50 + + + + + // + + ra + + l̄á
 N78 o o + + . o o o o o
 N85 . o o o o o o o o o
 N98 + + o o o + + . o o
 N101 o o o o o o o o + +
 Ur12 omits

33. ^é šutum ^d en-líl-lá in-dù

N41 o . o o o o o o
 N50 – šutum2 + + + + + +
 N78 (traces)
 N85 + o o o o o o o
 N98 – šutum2 . . o o o o
 N101 o o o o o o . +
 Ur12 omits

SEpM 10. An Axe for Nergal (5.7.3)

Sources

N7 = 3N-T310 = IM 58417	= 1–16
N10 = 3N-T436 = UM 55-21-337 (Behrens 1988, 31; Black et al. 2004, xxxf.)	= 1–16
N28 = 3N-T916, 339 (SLFN 4, 70)	= 2–15
N35 = CBS 2231 + UM 29-15-384 (PBS 15 65)	= 14–16
N36 = CBS 3950 (to be published by J. Peterson)	= 5–15
N41 = CBS 7849 + Ni 4574 + Ni 9705 (PBS 13 48 + ISET 1 149 + ISET 1 123)	= 1–12
N58 = CBS 14049 + N 846 (Ali 1964, pl. xl)	= 3–16
N70 = Ni 3023 + Ni 4144 + Ni 4452 + Ni 4473 + Ni 4483 + Ni 4484 (SLTN 131 + ISET 2 123 + ISET 2 121 + ISET 2 22 + ISET 1 101 + ISET 1 67)	= 9–16
N84 = Ni 13163 (ISET 3 57)	= 4–12
N85 = Ni 13225 + Ni 2269 + Ni 2796 + Ni 4499 (ISET 3 55 + ISET 2 123 + SLTN 129 + ISET 3 61)	= 1–16
N102 = HS 1511 (TMH NF 4 45 ⁶)	= 1–16

Bibliography: Editions: Wilcke 1969, 58 n. 210; Behrens 1988.
Commentary: Civil 1969, 180; Civil 2000b, 35 (l. 9); Black et al. 2004,
xxi–xxvii.

Concordance of sigla used here and by Behrens 1988:

N7	B	A	N102
N10	C	B	N7
N28	E	C	N10
N35	H	D	N41
N41	D	E	N28
N58	F	F	N58
N70	G	G	N70
N102	A	H	N35

Textual Matrix

l.	nibru	^{ki}	-ta-lú
N7	+	+	+
N10	o	+	o
N41	+	+	+
N70	+	+	+
N85	.	o	o
N102	+	+	+

⁶ Collations in Wilcke 1976, 72.

2. dumu lugal-šuba dam-gàr-ra-ke₄

N7	+	+	+/	+	+	-	+
N10	o	+	+	.	o	o	o
N28	o	o	o	+	o	o	o
N41	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+
N70	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+
N85	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N102	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

3. ^d nergal-ra

N7	++	+	;
N10	o+	.	
N28	o.	o	
N41	++	+	;
N58	o.	o	
N70	++	+	;
N85	+o	o	
N102	++	+	

4. ^{urudu} ha-zi-in an-na mu-na-ni-in-dím

N7	-	+++	+/	+un	+++	+
N10	+	+++	.	//	+	+++
N28	o	ooo	o	o	+	ooo
N41	+	+++	/	-	+	+++
N58	o	ooo	o	o	+	++oo
N70	+	+++	-	/	+	+++
N84	+	+++	o	oo	o	ooo
N85	+	ooo	o	oo	o	ooo
N102	-	+++	+	+	.	+++

5. ^{giš}-bi ^{giš} ar-ga-nu-um hur-saĝ-ĝá

N7	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/
N10	+	RU	+	+	+	+	+	+/
N28	o	.	-	+	.	o	o	o
N41	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/
N36	o	o	oo	.	+	+	.	.
N58	o	+	-	+	+	o	o	o
N84	o	o	o	.	+	+	+	o;
N85	+	+	-	.	o	o	o	o
N70	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/
N102	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+

6. a-làl-e diri-ga-àm

N7	e	+	la	+	+	+
N10	+	++	+	+	+	+
N28	.	++	o	o	o	
N41	ZA++a?	+	+	+	+	
N36	o	o	o	+	+	.
N58	.	++	.	o	o	
N70	ZA++	+	+	+	+	
N84	o	o	o	o	o	o
N85	+	+	.	o	o	o
N102	+	++	+	+	+	+

7. na₄-bi an-ta-sur-ra-àm

N7	+	o	na ₄	+	+	+	+	-/
N10	+	+		+	+	+	+	+/
N28	o	+		+	.	o	o	o
N36	o	o		o	o	o	o	.?;
N41	+	+		+	+	+	+	+/
N58	omits							
N70	+	+		+	+	+	+	+/
N84	o	.		.	+	+	+	-;
N85	+	+		.	.	o	o	o;
N102	+	+		+	+	+	+	-

8. gaba-ri nu-tuku-àm

N7	.	+	+	+	+
N10	+	+	+	+	+
N28	.	+	.	o	o
N41	+	+	+	+	+
N36	.	.	o	o	o
N58	omits				
N70	+	+	+	+	+
N84	+	o	o	o	o
N85	o	o	o	o	o
N102	+	+	+	+	+

9. hé- sìg-ge á-ni na-an-kúš-ù

N7	.	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	.
N10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N28	o	.	+	.	o	o	o	o	o
N36	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o;
N41	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
N58	o	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o
N70	o	o	+	.	o	o	o	o	o
N84	.	eb	+	+	+	+	.	o	o
N85	+/éb\	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o
N102	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	.	.

10. hé-éb-ta-haš-e

N7 + . . . +/
 N10 + + + + +/
 N28 o + + + .;
 N36 o /eb x\ .? o
 N41 o o o o + en
 N58 o ma an + .
 N70 . eb + + a;
 N84 + eb + + e;
 N85 + + + + +;
 N102 + + + + +

11. ga-mu-na-ab-silim

N7 . + + - /TAR\
 N10 + + + - +
 N28 o o o o o
 N36 o + + . o
 N41 o o o an +
 N58 . + + + +
 N70 + o o o o
 N84 + /ab\o o o
 N85 . o o o o
 N102 + + + + +

12. ú-gu hé-ni-ib-dé-e

N7 o . o + íb + +/
 N10 + . + + + . ./
 N28 o + + + + o o;
 N36 o o o o o . +;
 N41 o o o o o o .
 N58 o . + + + + +
 N70 + + + + + . o/
 N84 (traces)
 N85 + + + + + . o;
 N102 + + + + . + .

13. ki-bi ga-mu-na-ab-gi_t

N7 o o + + + + +
 N10 + + o + + o o
 N28 o o o o o o o
 N36 + + .? o o o o
 N58 o + + - + + +
 N70 + + šè + + o o o
 N85 o o o o o o o
 N102 + + + + + + +

14. u_4 ti-la-gâ igi hu-mu-un-du₈

N7 o o o o + + + + +
 N10 + . . +/+ o o o +
 N28 o ++ + + . o o o
 N35 + . . . + + + o o
 N36 o o o o o o . + +
 N58 o o . + + + + - +
 N70 + ++ + + + + . o
 N85 + ++ . + + . o o
 N102 + ++ +/+ + + + +

15. u_4 ba-úš-en kur-ra

N7 o o o + + +
 N10 + o o o o o
 N28 o . + e? ku4 o
 N35 + . + e + + /na\;
 N36 o o o o o o;
 N58 o . + + + +
 N70 + + + + + +;
 N85 + + + + + +;
 N102 . + + + + +

16. a si-ga hu-mu-un-na₈-na₈

N7 + + + + + + + +
 N10 + + . o o o o o
 N35 + o o/+ + + + +
 N36 o o + + + - . o
 N58 o /zi\ + + . - + +
 N70 + + o o o o o o
 N85 + + o o o o o o
 N102 + + + + + - + +

SEpM 11. Letter to the Generals (3.3.13)**Sources**

N7 = 3N-T310 = IM 58417	= 1-2
N18 = 3N-T668 = UM 55-21-372	= 3-13
N32 = 3N-T 923, 495 (SLFN 26)	= 1-13
N35 = CBS 2231 + UM 29-15-384 (PBS 5 65)	= 1-6
N58 = CBS 14049 + N 846 (Ali 1964, pl. xl)	= 1-9
N84 = Ni 13163 (ISET 3 57)	= 1-11
N85 = Ni 13225 + Ni 2269 + Ni 2796 + Ni 4499 (ISET 3 55 + ISET 2 123 + SLTN 129 + ISET 3 61)	= 1-12
N94 = N 3754 + N 4229	= 1-11
Ma1 = 00-T78	= 1-7
X13 = MS 3356 ⁷	= 3-11

Bibliography: Editions: Civil 1994, 182–184.

Commentary: Rowton 1967, 273; Wilcke 1973, 5.

Concordance of sigla used here and by Civil 1994:

N18	F	A	N94
N32	C	B	N85
N35	D	C	N32
N58	E	D	N35
N84	G	E	N58
N85	B	F	N18
N94	A	G	N84

Textual Matrix

1. šagina-e-ne

N7	+	++	er;
N32	.	++;	
N35	+	gu10+	
N58	.	++	
N84		(traces);	
N85	+	++;	
N94	+	++;	
Ma1	.	. .;	

⁷ Collations courtesy of K. Volk (June 11, 2009).

2. ù-na-dug₄

N7 ++ a +
 N32 . o o
 N35 ++ a +;
 N58 o + +
 N84 (traces)
 N85 + . o
 N94 ++ +
 Mal ++ a +

3. šabra-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a

N18 o o o + . o
 N32 + + + + . o
 N35 omits
 N58 omits
 N84 + + . . o o
 N85 omits
 N94 + + + + + +
 Mal x x x x
 X13 o o o + . o

4. igi ^{id} buranun- na

N18 o . . o
 N32 ugu + + + /x? erasure?² \ [...]/
 N35 + +!+(erasure) +
 N58 o . + +
 N84 /id\+ - + +;
 N85 + + + +;
 N94 + + + .
 Mal o + + +
 X13 o . + + /x\ [x]

5. tum-ma-al^{ki} -šè ba-ni-ib-è

N18 . + + + o// o + + +
 N32 + + + + + + + + .
 N35 + + + + + + + - +
 N58 o + + + + + + + +
 N84 + + + o o o o o o
 N85 + o o o o/ + o + .
 N94 + + + + + . . o o
 Mal . + + + + + . . .
 X13* o + + - + + + íb!.

*X13: l. 5 after l.6

6.	ù	káb-ku ₅	mah	ugnim	íb-	ak-e	
N18	íd	+	-	+ /	+	+	+
N32	+	+	+	+	+ /	+	+
N35	+	+	ku	.	./	im ma	+ [x [?]]
N58	+	+	+	+ /	.	+	+
N84	o	.	+	+	+	o	o o
N85	+	.	o	o / /	.	o	o o
N94	+	+	+	+	./	+	+
Ma1	.	KA	+	+a / /	.	+	+
X13*	o	KA*x [?] ku	.	.	.	o	o o

*X13: l. 6 before l. 5

7.	a-šà	ġiš-gi-du ₅	lám-šè	ba-ni-ib-è	
N18	--	.	+	+	+
N32	++	+	+	+	+
N35	(traces)				
N58	+	o	o	+	+
N84	o o o	.	+	+	+
N85	++	+	o	o	o
N94	++	+	+	a+	+
Ma1	o o o	.	+	+	./
X13	omits				

8.	a-zi-ga	l 1/2	kùš	im-ma-	zig
N18	o o	.	+	+	+
N32	o o	.	.	+	+
N58	.	.	+	+	+
N84	o o o o	.	+	+	+
N85	++	+	+	+	+
N94	++	+	+	+	+
X13	omits				

9.	tukum-bi	^d utu	nu-um-ta-è	
N18	.	+	+	+
N32	o	o	++	+
N58	.	+	o.	+
N84	o	o	+	+
N85	+	+	++	+
N94	+	+	++	+
X13	.	+	++	+

10. 7200 erín ugu-ba nu-ub-gub

N18 o . / o o o . +

N32 . . / o o o o o

N58 (traces)

N84 o o o . + + .

N85 + + + . + . +

N94 o . + + + + +

X13 10800 + hi a + bi! + - +

11. 216000 aša₅ ba-ab-tùm

N18 o o . + +

N32 + + o o o

N58 (traces)

N84 o o . + /x\

N85 3600 + gal àm o o túm

N94 o o . . +

X13 1+ + a-ša-a ma + UL

12. á ma-tur nu-mu-un-da-til-en

N18 o o o o . + + + +

N32 + o o o o

N85 + + + // + + + + + .

X13 omits

13. a-ma-ru-kam

N18 o . . +

N32 + + + +

N85 + + + +

X13 šagina-e-ne hé-en-zu

SEpM 12. Ur-Enlila to the ensi and saĝĝa (B10, 3.3.4)**Sources**

N6 = 3N-T293 = UM 55-21-300 (Ali 1964, pl. lii)	= 1–12
N32 = 3N-T923, 495 (SLFN 26)	= 1
N41 = CBS 7849 + Ni 4574 + Ni 9705 (PBS 13 48 + ISET 1 149 + ISET 1 123)	= 1–12
N53 = CBS 13968 (Ali pl xxxix)	= 2–12
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv–xxv)	= 1–12
N85 = Ni 13225 + Ni 2269 + Ni 2796 + Ni 4499 (ISET 3 55 + ISET 2 123 + SLTN 129 + ISET 3 61)	= 9–12
Ma1 = 00-T78	= 10–12
X23 = YBC 7175	= 1–12
X26 = unpublished private collection (cited in Hallo 1968, 88)	
CATUk1 = W 17259an (van Dijk 1989, 442)	= 1

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 105–108; Civil 1994, 177–180.

Commentary: Rowton 1967, 273; van Dijk 1989, 446 (CATUk1).

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N6	B	A	N41
N41	A	B	N6
N53	D	C	N76
N76	C	D	N53
N85	E	E	N85

Concordance of sigla used here and by Civil 1994:

N6	H	A	N76
N41	D	C	N54
N54	C	D	N41
N76	A	H	N6
N85	I	I	N85
X22	J	J	X22

Textual Matrix

1.	ensi ₂	saĝĝa-ra	ù-ne-a-dug ₄
N6	o	+	+ / o o + +
N32	+	+	+ + na + .
N41	+	+	+ o o o o
N53	(traces)		
N76	+	+	o o o o o
X23	+	+	+ + + + +
CATUk1	+	+	+ – – – –

2. ^m ur- ^d en-líl-lá-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a

N6 . o o o o . +// . + + +

N41 + + + + + + - . o o o

N53 (traces)

N76 + + + + + + . o o o o

X23 + + + + KAL + +// + + + +

3. pa₅ a luh-ha a i-íb-tùm

N6 . . + + + + + +

N41 + + + + + - + +

N53 o o o + + . + t[úm]

N76 + ì + o o o o o

X23 + + + + + + . [t]úm

4. ^m ^d en-líl-lá-â_{u10} ù ha-an-za-mu

N6 + + + + AN + + + + + +;

N41 + . . +/AN\ + . + + + +

N53 o o . + + + + + + + +

N76 + + + + á + + . . o o/

X23 + + + + + +// + + + + + +

5. íb-sìg-ge-eš mu-da-an-kar-re-eš

N6 + sì + +// + + + + + +

N41 + + + + + + - + + +

N53 o . + + + + + + + .

N76 + + + + + . o o o o

X23 + +! + + + + + + + +

6. ^m lugal-an-né na-ab-bé-a

N6 + + + + + + + +

N41 + + . . . + + +

N53 o o + + + + + +

N76 + + + + + + o o

X23 + + + + + + + +

7. â_{e26}-e pa₅ l-àm za-e pa₅ l-àm ensi₂ pa₅ l-àm

N6 + + + + +// + + + + +// + + + +

N41 + + + + +// + + + + +// + + + +

N53 o o . + + + + + + +// . + + + +;

N76 + + + + + + . . . o o o o

X23 + + + + +// + + + + +// + + + +

8. a hé-mu-e-de₆ bí-in-dug₄ nu-mu-un-še-ge-eš

N6 o + + + + + - +/ + + + + + +
 N41 + + + + dug₄ + + + + + + + + .
 N53 + + + - + a? + - + + + + + + +
 N76 + + + + + + - + + + + + + .
 X23 - +! me - + + + + + . + + + +

9. erin₂ íd-zu nu -ma pa₅-bi a i-íb-tùm

N6 o . . + + + + ./ o ++ o
 N41 + + +! + + + . o o o o
 N53 o o o + + + + + - + túm
 N76 + + + + . + + + + + +
 N85 . . o o o o + + - . o
 X23 + + zum na!(KI) + + - + bi - + túm

10. ġe₂₆-e záh-bi a ma-ab-tùm

N6 o o + + + + + +
 N41 + + + + + + . o
 N53 o o o . + + + túm
 N76 ġá a + + + + + +
 N85 + + o + + + - o
 Ma1 o o o + o o o o
 X23 + + zàh+ + + an/túm\

11. á ma-tur 5 ġuruš 10 hu-mu-e-ši-in-ġi₄-ġi₄-ma

N6 o . + + + 60/ + + . + + + + +
 N41 + + + + + o/ + + - + . o o o
 N53 o o . + + + + + - + + + + +
 N76 + + + + + + + + + + - + + -;
 N85 + + . o o o// + + - + - o o in
 Ma1 o o o o + - + o o o o + + -
 X23 - - - + + saġ dili + + - - un + + -

12. a-ma-ru-kam

N6 + + + +
 N41 + + + o
 N53 o + + +
 N76 + + + .
 N85 + o o .
 Ma1 o o + +
 X23 + + + +

SEpM 13. An ensi and saĝĝa to a king (B11, 3.3.5)**Sources**

N4 = 3N-T255 = UM 55-21-287 (Ali 1964, pl. xlv)	= 1-9, 13-15
N6 = 3N-T293 = UM 55-21-300 (Ali 1964, pl. lii)	= 1
N41 = CBS 7849 + Ni 4574 + Ni 9705 (PBS 13 48 + ISET 1 149 + ISET 1 123)	= 1-11
N53 = CBS 13968 (Ali 1964, pl. xxxix)	= 1-5, 9-15
N71 = Ni 4508x ⁸	= 1
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv-xxv)	= 1-7, 10-15
N77 = Ni 9703 (ISET 2 120)	= 11-12, 15
Ur3 = U 16833 (UET 5 862)	= 1-11
CATUk1 = W 17259an (van Dijk 1989, 442)	= 1

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 109-112; Civil 1994, 180-182.

Commentary: Civil 2000, 107 n.11 (CATUk1).

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N4	A	A	N4
N41	D	B	N76
N53	C	C	N53
N76	B	D	N41

Concordance of sigla used here and by Civil 1994:

N4	B	A	N76
N6	H	B	N4
N41	D	C	N53
N53	C	D	N41
N76	A	H	N6
Ur3	G	G	Ur3

Textual Matrix

l.	lugal-me	ù-na-dug ₄
N4	o .	+ + +
N6	+ +	+ + a+
N41	+ +	+ . o
N53	o +	+ + +
N76	. +	+ + +
CATUk1	+ +!	ra - - -

⁸ I did not have access to this tablet.

2. ensi₂ saĝĝa-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a

N4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N41	+	+	o	o	o	o	o
N53	o	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	.	+	+	+	+	+	+

3. a-šà da-ab-ta^{ki} 10800 iku-bi

N4	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	+	-
N41	o	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o
N53	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	o	o	.	+	+	+	7200	.	-;

4. éš-gàr^d en-líl^d nin-líl ù^d nin-urta

N4	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
N41	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	o/	+	+	+	.
N53	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
N76	+	+	.	.	+	lá//o	o	o	o	o	o	o

5. šà-bi-ta 540^{iku} -àm

N4	+	+	+	+	+	+/
N41	+	+	+	+	+	./ *BÙR+gunû
N53	o	o	o	o	+	-
N76	o	o	o	o	+	-

šukur₂ lú níĝ-dab₃-ba-ke₄-ne

N4	+	+	+	.	.	+	+
N41	+	+	+	+	+	+	o
N53	+	.	o	o	o	o	o
N76	+	.	o	o	o	o	o

6. 180^{iku} -àm sa-dúr a-šà-ga-bi

N4	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
N41	+!*	+	+	+	+	+/x\	o	o	*BÙR+gunû
N76	o	o	o	o	/x\	+	+	o	o

7. ^m iq-bi-šúm ù a-bi-qá-ti-e inim mu-da-an-ĝar-re-eš

N4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+	+	+
N41	-	?	.	+	+	+	+	o	o/	+	o	+	+
N76	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	o	o	o	o	o

8. tukum-bi lugal-me an-na-kam

N4	+	+	+	+	+	+
N41	.	o	o	o	o	o
N53	(traces)					
N76	o	o	+	o	o	o

9. ra-gaba hu-mu-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄-ma

N4 . + + + + + . +

N41 + + . . o o o o o

N53 o o o o o o + . o

10. kíġ a-ak bulug a-ša inim dug₄ hu-mu-ni-ib-[bé]

N41 + + + . o + + + + + o

N53 o o o o o . + + + . o o o

N76 . o o o o o o o ga - + + o o

11. dúr-bi-šè 2 iku X 180-ešē₃^{iku} gaba a-ša-ga-bi

N41 +! + + + + o/ + + + + . o o o

N53 o o o o o o o o o o + + + +

N76 - - - - - [x (x?)] + + + o o

N77 o o o o . / o o o o o o o o +

12. ġiš al-ta ba-dúb kíġ-šè ba-ak

N53 o o o o o + + + +

N76 + + + + + + o o o

N77 o o o o o o o o o o a

13. erin₂ tah-hu-um engar ša-gu₄ lú ġiš apin-na nu-me-a

N4 + + + + . + +* + + . + + + +

N53 o o o o o o + + + - + + + +

N76 + + + + + + + . o o o o o o

14. gu₄ dili-dili-ta a-ša ġiš bí-ùr

N4 . + + . . + + +

N53 o o o o o o + + +

N76 + + + + + + + o o

15. al i-ak-en-dè-en lugal-me hé-en-zu

N4 o o o . + + / o / mu\ + + +

N53 o o o o o + + + + + +

N76 + + + + + + + o o o o

N77 o o o o o o o o o o .

SEpM 14. Announcement of a Lost Seal (B12, 5.7.a)**Sources**

N35 = CBS 2231 + UM 29-15-384 (PBS 5 62)	= 1-12
N48 = CBS 10346	= 1-10
N53 = CBS 13968 (Ali 1964, pl. xxxix)	= 1-11
N70 = Ni 3023 + Ni 4144 + Ni 4452 + Ni 4473 + Ni 4483 + Ni 4484 (SLTN 131 + ISET 2 123 + ISET 2 121 + ISET 2 22 + ISET 1 101 + ISET 1 67)	= 1-12
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv-xxv)	= 1-12
N77 = Ni 9703 (ISET 2 120)	= 1-9
Ma1 = 00-T78	= 1-12
X15 = NBC 7800	= 1-12
X24 = YBC 12074	= 1-12

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 113-116; 1964b.

Commentary: Hallo 1968, 88 n. 113; Civil 1972, 89-90; Hallo 1977, 56-57; Steinkeller 1977, 48-49; Roth 1979, 53f. (1.3), 62 (1.4), 103f. (1.3); Roth 1983, 282; Neumann 1992, 87-88; Lieberman 1992, 134; Falkenstein 1956, 32.

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N35	B+E	A	N70
N53	D	B	N35
N70	A	C	N76
N76	C	D	N53
		E	N35

Textual Matrix

1.	kišib ₃	mu-sar	ur-dun	dam-gàr-ra	ú-gu	ba-an-dé
N35	+	+	+	+	+	+
N48	o	o	o	o	o	.
N53	o	o	o	o	+	+
N70	+	+	+	o	o	+
N76	+	+	+	+	.	o
N77	o	o	o	.	+	+
Ma1	+	+	+	.	.	+/x?
X15	+	+	+	.	-	+
X24	+	+	+	+	+	e

2. inim pu-úh-ru-um-ma-ta

N35	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
N48	o	.	.	+	+	+	.
N53	o	o	o	o	o	+	+
N70	+	+	+	+	.	o	o
N76	+	+	+	o	o	o	o
N77	o	o	o	o	o	o	.
Mal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X15	+	+	o	o	o	o	o
X24	+	+	+	-	-	+	+

3. niġir-e sila-sila-a si gù ba-ni-in-ra

N35	o	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	ri
N48	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.
N53	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	+
N70	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	o
N77	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+
Mal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	ri
X15	+	./	+	+	o	+	+	+	o	o	o
X24	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+

4. lú na-me níġ na-me ugu-na li-bí-in-tuku

N35	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	a	+	+	+	+	+
N48	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N53	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N70	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	.	o	o	o	o
N77	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	.
Mal	+	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	o	o
X15	+	+	+	em	+	+	+	x	+	+	.	o	o
X24	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	x	?	?	*

*X24: rest of line not visible from photo.

5. ^m lú- ^d suen-na šagina

N35	-	+	+	.	.	.
N48	+	+	+	+	-	+
N53	o	o	o	o	o	+
N70	+	+	+	+	+	.
N76	+	+	+	+	o	.
N77	o	o	o	o	o	.
Mal	-	+	+	+	+	.
X15	+	+	+	+	+	+
X24	+	+	-	gi	+	+

6. ^m lugal-me-lám ensi₂ saĝĝa

N35	–	+	+	+	+	+
N48	+	+	+	+	+	+
N53	o	o	o	o	+	+
N70	+	+	+	+	+	o
N76	+	+	.	o	.	o
N77	o	o	o	o	.	–
Ma1	–	+	+	+	.	o
X15	+	+	+	+/	+	+
X24	+	+	+	+	+	–

X15 adds: KA-KA-ne-ne(?)
 ba-an<-šúm>-me-eš
 kišib₃-ba-ne-ne in-eš

7. ^m zu-zu um-mi-a

N35	–	+	+	+	.	.
N48	+	+	+	+	+	+
N53	o	o	o	+	+	.
N70	+	+	+	+	o	o
N76	+	o	o	o	o	o
N77	o	o	o	o	.	+
Ma1	omits					
X15	+	.	.	+	+	+
X24	+	+	+	+	+	+

8. ^m si-dù dub-sar

N35	–	+	+	.	o
N48	+	+	+	+	+
N53	o	o	o	+	+
N70	+	+	+	+	o
N76	o	o	.	o	o
N77	o	o	o	o	+
Ma1*	–	+	+	+	o
X15*	+	+	+	o	+
X24	+	+	+	+	+

*Ma1, X15: line 8 written after line 9

9. ^m ad-lul agrig

N35 - + + +
 N48 + + + +
 N53 o o o .
 N70 + al + .
 N76 o o . o
 N77 o o o .
 Ma1 - + + .
 X15* + + + +
 X24 + + + +

*Ma1, X15: line 9 written before line 8

10. ^m ba-an-ša₆-gc-en gala

N35 - + + . o o o
 N48 o o . . + + + x
 N53 o o o o o o +
 N70 + + + + + + .
 N76 o o o . + . o
 Ma1 - + - + + x o
 X15 omits
 X24 + + + + + + ?*

*X24: rest of line not visible from photo.

11. ^m ul-lí-a ha-za-nu-um

N35 - + + + + + . o
 N48 (traces)
 N53 o o o + o o o o
 N70 + + + + + + o
 N76 o o o o + o o o
 Ma1 - o o o
 X15 omits
 X24 +u4 + - + + + + +

12. niĝir lú-ki-inim-ma

N35 + + - + + ta?²-bi?
 N70 + + + + .
 N76 o o . + +
 Ma1 o
 X15 - + + + o bi
 X24 + e + - + + ta?

SepM 15. Ilaba-tah-lugal₄ to his brothers (B13, 3.3.6)**Sources**

N11	= 3N-T479 (UM 55-21-332) (Ali 1964, pl. xxx)	= 1-12
N19	= 3N-T790 (A 30297) (Ali 1964, pl. xlii)	= 1-11
N41	= CBS 7849 + Ni 4574 + Ni 9705 (PBS 13 48 + ISET 1 149 + ISET 1 123)	= 2-5
N45	= CBS 9892	= 3-7
N76	= Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv-xxv)	= 3-11
N80	= Ni 9707 (ISET 1 179)	= 1-3, 10-11
Ma1	= 00-T78	= 1-11

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 117-119.

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N11	A	A	N11
N19	B	B	N19
N41	E	C	N80
N76	D	D	N76
N80	C	E	N41

Textual Matrix

1. šeš-ġu₁₀-ne ù-na-dug₄

N11 + + + + + +

N19 o + + + + .

N80 + + + + . o

Ma1 + + . o o o

2. ìl-a-ba₄-tah-lugal-ġá-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a

N11 +++ + + + ./ + + + o

N19 . ++ + + + +/ + + + +

N41 +++ . o o o// + + . o

N80^m +++ tá . o o/ + + + .

Ma1 o o o/ + o o o

3. al-sù-ud kaskal i-im-re₇-en-na

N11 + + + ./ + + + + -

N19 + + + + + + + dè+ -

N41 + + + o/ + + + o o

N45 o o . +// o . . + +

N76 + . . . o o o o o

N80 + . + ./ o o o o o

Ma1 o . o o/ (traces)

4. ù lugal gi-na lugal-me-er ba-an-ús

N11 + . + + . o/[i]r11 + + .
 N19 + + . ./ + + NI o o o
 N41 + + . o o o/ + o o o
 N45 + + + + + +//. + + + ma
 N76 + + + o o o o o o o
 N80 (traces)
 Mal + + . . + +//. . . .*

*Mal adds approximately 5 signs here. Surface very worn.

5. kaskal-kaskal-e kaskal ba-an-tah

N11 o o . + + + o
 N19 + - + o o o +
 N41 . o o o o o o
 N45 + - + + + + .
 N76 + + + o o o o
 Mal . . . o . . +

6. ama-me èn li-bí-in-tar-re-dè-en

N11 o o . + + o o + + +
 N19 + + + . + +/+ + + .
 N45 . + + o o o/ . o o o
 N76 . + + ù/x\o o o o o
 Mal(traces) .

7. dag-gi₄-a-me u₄ na-an-šú-uš-a LUL.AŠ

N11 o + + +/ o o + + - + + +
 N19 + + - + + + + + +/+ + o
 N45 . . - .? o o o o o o o o
 N76 . + + + + . . + + e o o
 Mal (traces) + +

8. 1 sila₃ mun 1 sila₃ gazi

N11 o . + + + .
 N19 + + + + o o
 N76 + + + + + +;
 Mal (traces)

8a. x UŠ šu-ta e-x [...]

N11 o + + + + . [...]

9. l šà-ga-dù ^{túg}

N11 o o . . o

N19 + + + + o

N76 + + + + +;

Ma1 x . . + -

10. lú-gir₇ hu-mu-e-gi₄

N11 o + + . o o

N19 + + + + . .

N76 + + . o o o

Ma1 . . a? . . - .

11. kaskal-me al-sù-ud

N11 o o + + du

N19 + + + + +

N76 + + + + +;

N80 + + + o o

Ma1 (traces)

12. a-ma-ru-kam

N11 . . . +

N19 + + + +

N76 + + + o

N80 + + + o

SEpM 16. Monkey to Mother (B14, 3.3.7)**Sources**

N54 = CBS 13985	= 1-5
N61 = CBS 14116 (PBS 1/2 93)	= 1-11
N65 = CBS 19794 (PBS 1/2 92)	= 1-11
N74 = Ni 5218 (+) CBS 8739 (ISET 1 124 (+) STVC 8)	= 1-5, 6-11
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346)	
(ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv-xxv)	= 1-11
N85 = Ni 13225 + Ni 2269 + Ni 2796 + Ni 4499 (ISET 3 55 + ISET 2 123 + SLTN 129 + ISET 3 61)	= 1-11
CATUr1 = (UET 6 196)	= 1
CAT Uk1 = W 17259an (van Dijk 1989, 442)	= 1

Bibliography: Editions: Falkenstein 1950, 327; Ali 1964, 120-123; Cohen 1976, 270-274; Powell 1978, 163-195.

Translations: van Dijk 1953, 14; Gordon 1962, 228f; Barnett 1973, 3 n. 1 (translation by A. Shaffer); Alster 1974, 100; Dunham 1985, 244; Michalowski 2009, 207.

Commentary: Barnett 1973, 3; Michalowski 1984, 90 (CATUr1); Dunham 1985, 244-5; van Dijk 1989, 445 (CATUk1); Jacobsen 1990, 105f. n. 25.

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N61	B	A	N65
N65	A	B	N61
N74	E, F	C	N76
N78	C	D	N85
N85	D	E	N74
		F	N74

Concordance of sigla used here and by Cohen 1976, Powell 1978:

N54	B	A	N74
N61	C	B	N54
N65	D	C	N61
N74	F, A	D	N65
N78	G	E	N85
N85	E	F	N74
		G	N76

Textual Matrix

1.		lú	dí	lú	dí	ama-ġu ₁₀ -ra
N54	+	+	.	+	+	+
N61	+	+	+	+	+	.
N65	+	+	+	+	+	+
N74	+	DU	+	DU	o	o; o;
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+
N85	+	+	+	.	o	o
CATUr1	.	+	+lú	+	o	o
CATUk1	+	+	- DU	.	.	.

2. ù-na-dug₄

N54	+	+	a	.
N61	+	+	+	
N65	+	+	a	+
N74	+	+	o	
N76	+	+	.	
N85	+	.	+	

3. ^{ugu}ugu₄-bì na-ab-bé-a

N54	+	+	+/ke ₄ \	+	+	+	+
N61	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
N65	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N74	m+	+	+	+	o	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N85	m+	+	.	.	+	+	+

4. urim₂^{ki} iri giri₁₇-zal^d nanna-ka

N54	+	+	+	.	./	.	+	+
N61	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	kam
N65	urim5	+	+	+	+	+	+	kam
N74	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N85	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	kam

5. eridug^{ki} iri hé-ġál^d en-ki-ga-ka

N54	+	+	+	.	./	.	o	o	.	.
N61	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+	+
N65	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	kam
N74	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	o	o	
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N85	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+

6. $\hat{g}e_{26}$ -e eger $\hat{g}is$ ig é nar-gal-ka al-tuš-en

N61 + + + + +//+ + + + + .
 N65 + + + + + + + + + la/ + + +
 N74 + + . + + ! o o o o o o
 N76 + + + + + + . +la ke4+ + .
 N85 + + + . + + + + + la + + a

7. igi-tùm-lá mu-gu₇-en

N61 + + + + + +
 N65 + + + + + e
 N74 + + + + + /e\
 N76 o o + o o .
 N85 + + + + + e +

8. nam-ba-da-úš-en

N61 + + + + .
 N65 + + + + +
 N74 + + + + e+
 N76 o o o o +
 N85 + . + + e+

9. ninda ba-ra-gibil-lá kaš ba-ra-gibil-lá

N61 + + . . o//+ + + . o
 N65 + + + + + + + + + +
 N74 + + + + +/+ + + + + +
 N76 o o o o o o o o + +
 N85 + . . + +//+ + + + + +

10. lú-gir₇ kaskal-e šu taka₄-ma-ab

N61 + + + + + + .
 N65 . + + - + + + +
 N74 + + + - + + + .
 N76 o o o o o o o .;
 N85 + + + - + + + +

11. a-ma-ru-kam

N61 + + + +
 N65 o + + +
 N74 . + + o
 N76 + + + +
 N85 . + + .

Sources

N15 = 3N-T522 (IM 58533) (Ali 1964, pl. xxxvi)	= 1-19
N31 = 3N-T918, 417 (+) 3N-T919 (SLFN 25 (+) Ali 1964, pl. xlvii)	= 1-4, 8-19
N59 = CBS 14114 (Ali 1964, pl. xlvii)	= 11-19
N63 = CBS 14118 (PBS 1/2 95)	= 2-11
N74 = Ni 5218 (+) CBS 8739 (ISET 1 124 (+) STVC 8)	= 1
N75 = Ni 9533 (ISET 2 123)	= 4-9, 14-19
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N7614 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv-xxv)	= 1-19
N77 = Ni 9703 (ISET 2 120)	= 9-19
Ma1 = 00-T78	= 17-19

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N15	A	A	N15
N31	B	B	N31
N59	G	C	N76
N63	D	D	N63
N75	E	E	N75
N76	C	F	N77
N77	F	G	N59

1. ^m i-la-ak-ni-id ù-na-dug₄

N15	-	+*	+	+	+	+	+	o
N31	o	.	lu	++	.	o	o	o
N74	o	o	.	+	.	.	o	o
N76	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	+

*N15: i followed by erasure

2. m d UTU-DÙG-e na-ab-bé-a

N15	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N31	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	0	0
N63	0	0	.	.	0	0	0	0	0
N76	0	0	0	0	0	0	.	+	+

3. kaskal iti 1 ud 15-kam ud ní-za hé-bí-DU

N15 + + + + +/ + + + + +
 N31 + + + - + . o o o/ . o o
 N63 + + + + + . o o o .*.
 N76 o o o o o o o o o . ++

*N63: bí followed by erasure

4. šà ni-qum ^{ki} -ma-šcè a-na-še-àm iti-da ud 3-kam-ma-bi

N15 + + + - + + + + +/ + ud da + + + +
 N31 o + + - + o o o o o/ o . + o o o o
 N63 + + + + + ta . . . +/ + + + + + + +
 N75 + + + + + + . . o o/ + ud da + + + +
 N76 . . . - . /ta\ . . /x\o o . + 30 + + +;

5. á ág-ġá-zu na-ma-tùm

N15 omits
 N63 + + + + + + +
 N75 + + + + + + +
 N76 + + + + o . +

6. bar-zu èn bí-in-tar ġiri₃-zu si ba-ab-sá

N15 + + + + + +/ + + + + + +
 N63 + + + + - + + + + + + +
 N75 + za + + + +/ + + + + + +
 N76 + + + + - + + . / o o /x\.

7. 2 anše-ġiš-a kug-bi 4 gín

N15 + + + + + + +
 N63 + àm + + + + + + +
 N75 + + + àm + + + +
 N76 o . . + + . o o

8. 1 šà-ga-dù gada kug-bi 1/2 gín

N15 + + + + + + + +
 N31 o o o o o o o + o
 N63 + + + + + + + +
 N75 + + + + + + + +
 N76 (traces)

9. á ^{ġiš} má-zu 1 gín

N15 + + + + + + e
 N31 + - + + x o
 N63 + + + + + +

N75 /x (x)\ + o o o
 N76 + +
 N77 + . o o o o

10. á mas-su ^{gis} má-zu l 1/3 gín-àm

N15 + ma zu - ma zum + + + -
 N31 + ma zu - ma o o o o
 N63 + - - + + + má zu + + + +
 N76 + + + + + + + + -
 N77 + - - + + + /ma zu\ . . o o

11. a bí-si-ig

N15 + + + .
 N31 . + . o
 N59 + + + +
 N63 + + + +
 N76 + + + +
 N77 . + + +

12. zi-ga didli-zu šà-bi-ta nu-âál

N15 + + + + + + . o
 N31 + + + + + + o/ +mu+
 N59 . . + bi + + + + +
 N76 + + + + + + + +
 N77 . + + bi + + + . o

13. 2 gún siki da-gal- tum-ma kù-bi ha-ra-da-šid

N15 + + + + + + + +/ + + + + + +
 N31 + + + + +! . o// + + + + . .
 N59 + . + + ga an + +/ + + + + + +
 N76 + + + + ga al + + + + + + + .
 N77 o o + + ga /al\ + +/ + . o o o o ma

14. niġ-sa₁₀-ma kù l 2/3 ma-na-kam nagga-a gi₄-ma-ni-ib

N15 o . àm - + + + + ka/ + - + + + +
 N31 - + o o o . - gi o o o
 N59 + . + + - + + + ka/ + + + + + +
 N75 . o o o o o o o o o o o o o o
 N76 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
 N77 + . o o o o . . ta/ o o . . + +

15. ^{na4} du₈-ši-a ^{na4} nir₇-igi ^{na4} nir₇-muš-ġír

N15 + + + + + + / + + + + sù du?

N31 + + + + x o o o o o o

N59 . + + + + + + + + + +;/

N75 + . o o o o o o o o o o

N76 + + + + + + + + + + +;/

N77 o o o o . + +//o o . sù ud

16. ġeštug₂-zu hé- ġál

N15 + + + + +

N31 (traces)

N59 + + + + +

N75 + . o/la?²\ .

N76 + + + en +

N77 o o . /en\ .

17. kug didli-zu saġ-bi ha-ra-ab-dab₅ im-ma hu-mu-ra-ab-tag

N15 + + + + + + + + +/ + + + + + + +

N31 (traces)

N59 + + + + + +! + - +/ + e + + + + +

N75 + + + . + + + + +/ + + + + + + tag⁴

N76 + + + + + + + - + + + + + + . .

N77 + + + + +/ + + + + + + +

Mal (traces of first sign, rest broken)

18. u₄-da-ta á áġ-ġá-zu hé-em-tùm

N15 + + + + + + +/ + + +

N31 . + + . . o o o o o

N59 + + + + + + +/ + + +

N75 + + + + + + +/ + + +

N76 + + + . . . /x x\ o o;

N77 + + + + + + +/ + + +

Mal + + + + . o o o o o

19. a-ma-ru-kam

N15 + + + +

N31 o . + o

N59 + + + +

N75 o . + +

N76 o o o o

N77 + + + +

Mal + + + .

SEpM 18. Lugal-neságe to Enlil-massu (B16, 3.3.9)**Sources**

N16 = 3N-T530 = A 30263 (Ali 1964, pl. xlvì)	= 1–7, 13–20
N27 = 3N-T907, 266 (Ali 1964, pl. xlvì = SLFN 24)	= 1–5, 17–20
N52 = CBS 13407	= 1–5, 12–20
N66 = Ni 2271 (BE 31 47)	= 1–12
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv–xxv)	= 1–8, 11–20 = 1
N77 = Ni 9703 (ISET 2 120)	= 1
N91 = N 1793 (Ali 1964, pl. xxxiii)	= 1–5, 11–12
N100 = HS1495 (TMH NH 4 44)	= 12–20
Ur2 = U 16272 (UET 6/2 175)	= 1–20
Ur8 = U 16894A (UET 6/2 176) ⁹	= 1–20
X22 = YBC 7170	= 1–20

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 130–136.

Commentary: Jaques 2006, 20 (l.6), 375 n. 803 (l.8), 400 n. 866 (l.7), 404 (l.18); Woods 2008, 238 ex. 453 (l.18), 292 ex. 654 (l.11); Civil 2009, 66ff. (UET 7 94)

Collations: Ludwig 2009, 170 (Ur2, Ur8)

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N16	C	A	Ur8
N27	H	B	Ur2
N66	D	C	N16
N76	F	D	N66
N77	G	E	N91
N91	E	F	N76
Ur2	B	G	N77
Ur8	A	H	N27

⁹ For the Akkadian version added at the end of this tablet see Ch. 6.2 and discussion in Ch. 6.3.

Textual Matrix

1.	m d	en-líl-mas-su	inim	dùg	ad-gi ₄	sag ₉	kag	lál
N16	o o	o o o o o	o	.	gi	+	o	o/
N27	o +	+ + + o o	o	o o	o	o	o	o/
N52	. o	+ + . o .	.	+ +	./	+	+	
N66	o o	o o o o +	+	+ +	+/	o	.	
N76	++	+ o o o o	o	o o	o	o	o	
N77	+ +	+ + + + +	+	+	.	o/	+	+
N91	o +	+ + + + +	+	+ +	za/	.	+	
Ur2	o .	. . . + +	+	+ +	+/	+	+	
Ur8	+ +	+ + + + +	+	+ +	+	+	+	+/
X22	.?	+ + + + +	+	+ +	x/	+	+	

	inim	gùn-gùn-ra	ù-na-a-dug ₄
N16	o	o + + + + +	
N27	+	o o o/	+ + o o
N52	.	/x\ + +	+/ + + - +
N66	+	+ + nu + + + + +	
N76	o	+ + +/ o o o +	
N77	o	o o o/	+ o o o
N91	+	+ + + nu +/ .	+ + +
Ur2	+	+ + + +/	+ ne - +
Ur8	+	+ + + + + + +	
X22	+	x gù x/	+ + + +

2.	dumu	diğir-ra-ni-ir	gub-ba	a-a	ama-ni	ní tèg-ge ₂₆ -ra
N16	o	o o . + + +/	o o o	o	+ + +	e+
N27	+	+ + + o o o o/	+ + o	o	o o o	o
N52	+	+ + + - + . +/	+ + +	+	+ + +	+
N66	o	. + + ni + +	+ + +	+	+ + +	+
N76	o	o o o o o o	o + +	+	+ + +	+
N91	o	+ + + + + +	+ + +	./ir?	. + +	+
Ur2	+	+ + + a + + + +/	+ + + a	ir ir	+ + +	+
Ur8	+	+ + + + + + ama	++ - +	+	+ + e	ne
X22	+	+ + + - - + +	.	+ +	+ ir	?*

*X22: rest of line not visible from photo.

3.	ù-na-dè-tah
N16	o o + +
N27	+ + o o
N52	+ + + +
N66	+ + + +
N76	o o + +
N91	+ + + .
Ur2	+ ne + +
Ur8	+ ne + +
X22	+ ne + +

4.	^d	alad ₂	^d	lamma	diġir	kal-la-ġu ₁₀		
N16	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+
N27	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o//
N52	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/
N66	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/
N76	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	+
N91	o	.	+	+	+	+	.	o/
Ur2	^{a-la-ad}	+	+	+	+	+	+	ša i-di //
Ur8		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X22	—	alan	+	+	+	+	+	+

ulutim₂ alan zíl-zíl-i

N16	.	+	+	+	+
N27	+	o	o	o	o
N52	.	+	+	+	+
N66	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	+	+	+	+
N91	.	+	.	o	o
Ur2	+	+	+	+	e
Ur8	+	+	+	+	–
X22	–	+	+	+	in?

5. me-te nam-dub-sar-ra

N16	o	o	+	+	+	+
N27	o	+	.	o	o	o
N52	o	.	.	o	.	+/
N66	+	+	+	+	+	–
N76	o	o	+	+	+	+
N91	o	o	+	.	o	o
Ur2	+	+	+	UM	+	–;
Ur8	+	+	+	+	+	+
X22	+	+	+	+	+	+

6a.	hé-du ₇	é	gal-la	ur-saġ	ša-tam-e-ne	á	ág	ki-bi	-gi ₄
N16	o	.	++	+//o	o	++	++//o	o	+ ba e/gi? ² \
N66	+	+	++	+//++	++	++	- ++	++	+ġá ++
N91	(traces)								
Ur8	-	-	-	-	++	++	++	+	+ġá ++ šè +
X22	-	-	-	-	++	++	++	+	+ġá ++ +

6b. ur-saġ ša-tam-e-ne hé-du₇ é-gal-la á ág ki-bi gi₄

N76	.	o	++	+/	.	o	++	+/	.	o	++	+	+
Ur2	+	+	++	+/	+	+	++	+/	+	+	++	+	+

7. šà lugal-la-na dūg-dūg-ge-ra ù-na-dè-peš

N16 o o o + + + + +/ o o . .
 N66 + + a ni + + + +/ + + + +
 N76 o o o o o o o + + + + tah
 Ur2 + + + +//+ + +* +//+ ne + +
 Ur8 + + + + + + + + + ne + +
 X22 + . /ĝá\ - + o . . + ?**

*Ur 2: 2 erased signs between -ge- and -ra-

***X22: rest of line not visible from photo.

8. ^m lugal-nesaĝ-e nu-èš^d en-líl-lá lú zú bir₉ lugal-la

N66 + + + + + + + +/ + + + + +
 N76 + + + + o o o o o o (traces)
 Ur2 + + + +//+ + + + +//+ + + + +
 Ur8 + + + + + + + + + + + a na
 X22 - . . - + + + + + +//+ + . + +

9. dumu^d en-líl-al-saĝ₉ um-mi-a

N66 + + + + +/ + + +
 Ur2 + + + +lá+ +// + + +
 Ur8 + - - - - zu-zu+ + +
 X22 . . . + /x\ .? + + +

nibru^{ki} -a ad-da-zu na-ab-bé-a

N66 + + ke4//+ + + + + + +
 Ur2 + + ke4//+ + + + + + +
 Ur8 + + +/ + + + + + + +
 X22 . ? ?*// +/x\ o . + + +

*X22: rest of line not visible from photo.

10. ud taka₄-en-na-zu ba-hu-hu-bu-uš-en

N66 + + + + + + + + + +
 Ur2 + DA - + ĝu10 + + + + + + e
 Ur8 + ì + - + ĝu10 + + + + + a
 X22 /x\ o o o o o o o . x a

11. šà-ĝu₁₀ mu-da-šub enmen₂ šà-ĝar-ĝu₁₀ ba-tur

N66 + + + + +// + šaĝar + + +
 N76 o o o o o o o o . + +
 N91 o o o o o o o o o + +
 Ur2 + + + + +*//+ + + + + +**
 Ur8 + + + + + šaĝar enmen2 + + +
 X22 o o o o +// KA + - + + +

*Ur2 adds: *im-ta-qú-ut*

**Ur2 adds: e-me-en

12.	nam-zu	íb-gu ₇ -en	i-si-iš-zu	íb-si-ge-en
N52	o	o	o o	o ++ . o o o o
N66	+	+	+	++*
N76	o	.	.	+/ o o o . + . ++
N91	o	o	+	++ + o o o o o o o o
N100	+	+	+	++ + + + + + + + +
Ur2	+	+	+	++ + + + + + + + **
Ur8	+	+	+	++ + + + + + + + +
X22	+	+	+	KA e// + + + NE?+ sig + -

*N66: tablet ends here

**Ur2 adds: *ta-až-me!-tu-ka*

13. mah-zu íb-sur-re-en

N16	(traces)						
N52	+	+	.	o	o	o	
N76	.	.	+	.	+	+	
N100	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Ur2	+	+	+	+	—	+	*
Ur8	+	+	+	+	+	+	
X22	+	+	+	+	+	+	

*Ur2 adds: *is-qú-ka*

14. bar-saĝ₃- zu íb- til-en

N16	o	o		o	.	+	e
N52	+	+		+	+	+	o
N76	+	+		+	+	+	+
N100	+	+		+	+	+	+
Ur2	o	+	ta la	+	+bu	úš	++*
Ur8	+	šĝ	ĝe ₂₆	e+	+	+	+
X22	+	TE	ĝa ₂	+	+	+	+

*Ur2 adds: *tu-pu-ul-ka*

15. lib bar ak - ĝu₁₀ - ta šu ba - dag

N16	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	.
N52	+	+	ki	+	+	+	+	.
N76	.	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
N100	ní	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur2	o	o	ki	+	+	+	bé	++!*
Ur8	+	+	ki	+	+	+	+	e +
X22	.	ba	ki	+	+	+	+	.

*Ur2 adds: *ab-tu-uq*

16. ġeštug₂ šà-ġu₁₀-ta lib ba-ġar

N16 o o o . . + .
 N52 + + zu + + + +
 N76 . + + + + + +
 N100 omits
 Ur2 omits
 Ur8 + + - -tuk-tuk+ bi +
 X22 omits

17. ní te-te-ġu₁₀-ta šà-ġu₁₀ úš lugud ba- si

N16 o o o . + + + + +/ . ab .
 N27 . o o o o o o o o o o
 N52 + + + + + + + + lugud2! + ab +
 N76 o o o . + + + + + + + +
 N100 + + + + + + + + + +* + +
 Ur2 o o + + ne + + + lugud2 ab +
 Ur8** + + + ġe26ne + + + + ab +
 X22 + + . + ga + + + lugud2 + ?***

*N102: BAD written over erasure.

**Ur8: line 18 (= 1.18 on tablet).

***X22: rest of line not visible from photo.

18. èn tar-tar-re-dè zi ba-ir

N16 o o o . + + + .
 N27 . o o o o o o o o
 N52 + + + + + + + +
 N76 o o o o . + +a+
 N100 + + + + + + + +
 Ur2 o o + - + + +*+
 Ur8*** + + + + + + + +
 X22 + + + + + + . .

*Ur2: ba followed by erasure

**Ur2 adds: *a-la-š[u-uš]*

***Ur8: line 17 (= 1.17 on tablet)

19.	ki	nam	tar-ra-šè	nu-ub-da-ĝen-	na-aš
N16	o	o	o o .	+ + + +	+ +
N27	+	+	o o o	o o o o	o o
N52	+	+	+ + +	+ + + +ne en	+ +
N76	o	o	o o o	o . + +	+ +
N100	+	+	+ + +	+ + + +	+ +
Ur2	o	.	+ ka -	+ + + ĝá	- -*
Ur8	+	+	+ + -	+ + + +	+ +
X22	+	+	+ re NE mu-	ta +	? ?**

*Ur2 adds: *la aš-š[a²-ka-an]*

**X22: rest of line not visible from photo.

20.	dug ₄ -ga	^d en-líl-lá-ta	mùš-me-zu	igi	hé-bí-íb-du ₈
N16	o	o o o .	+ +/ o	o o o o	o (traces) +
N27	+	+ o o o o o	o	o o o o	o o o o
N52	+	+ + + + + +//	+	+ + +	ga + ib +
N76	o	o o o o o o	o	o o o o	. + ib +
N100	+	+ + + + + +//	+	+ + + -	ga + + +
Ur2	+	+ + + + ka-	+	+ + + +	+/+ o o
Ur8	+	+ + + + le -	+	+ + + +	+ + - +
X22	+	+ + + + + -//	+	+ + +	- ba ab .

SEpM 19. Inanaka to Nintinuga (B17, 3.3.10)**Sources**

N8 = 3N-T369 = A 30221 (+) 3N-T418 = A 30237 (Ali 1964, pl. xxvii)	= 1–25
N17 = 3N-T542 = UM 55–21–343 + 3N-T900, 5 (Ali 1964, pl. xxvii)	= 1–25
N25 = 3N-T905, 213 (SLFN 24)	= 4–7, 8–14
N38 = CBS 7128	= 1–6, 24–25
N49 = CBS 10405	= 19–22
N55 = CBS 13986	= 1–2
N57 = CBS 14046 (PBS 1/2 134)	= 1–25
N58 = CBS 14049 + N 846 (Ali 1964, pl. xl)	= 10–20
N62 = CBS 14117 (PBS 1/2 94)	= 1–13
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29–16–139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv–xxv)	= 2–25
Ur1 = U 7741 (UET 6/2 173)	= 22–25
Ur5 = U 16853 + n/a (UET 6/2 174 + UET 6/3 537)	= 2–16
Ur10 = U 16900G (UET 6/2 180)	= 1–25
X10 = IM 11053, 163 (TIM 9 16) **	= 11–15, 16–23
X11 = MS 2290 ¹⁰	= 1–25
X19 = Wilson Li09	= 1–25

Bibliography: Editions: van Dijk 1953, 14ff; Ali 1964, 137–143; Böck 1996, 7–11; Römer 2003.

Translations: Falkenstein 1953, 218f; G. Castellino 1977, 98f.; Römer 1989a (with brief commentary); Zgoll 1997, 428 (ll. 16–18).

Commentary: Falkenstein 1953, 378.

Collations: Ludwig 2009, 168f. (Ur1, Ur5)

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N8	E	A	Ur10
N17	D	B	N57
N57	B	C	N62
N58	G	D	N17
N62	C	E	N8
N76	F	F	N76
Ur10	A	G	N58

¹⁰ Collations courtesy of K. Volk (Nov. 2008).

Concordance of sigla used here and by Römer 2003:

N8	E	A	Ur10
N17	D	B	N57
N25	H	C	N62
N57	B	D	N17
N58	G	E	N8
N62	C	F	N76
N76	F	G	N58
Ur1	J	H	N25
Ur5	K	I	X10
Ur10	A	J	Ur1
X10	I	K	Ur5

Textual Matrix

1.	^d nin-tin-	ug ₅ -ga	agrig	zid é-kur-ra						
N8	+	+	+	+	+	.	o			
N17	+	+	+	+	+	.	o o o o			
N38	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	
N55	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	
N57	o	.	+	+	+	.	o o o	o/		
N62	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	o o o/		
Ur10	o	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
X11	+	+	ti	lu2+	+	.	+	+	+	+
X19	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	(on edge?)	

2.	a-zu	kalam-ma-ra	ù-na-dug ₄						
N8	+	+	.	+	*	+	+	**	+
N17	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	
N38	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	
N55	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	
N57	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	
N62	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	
N76	o	o	o	o	./	+	o	o	
Ur5	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	
Ur10	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	a+	
X11	+	+	+	.	?	o	o	o	
X19	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	a+	

*N8: ma followed by erasure

**N8: -a- erased

3.	nin	tu ₆	dug ₄ -ga-ni	ùĝ	šár	ti-le
N8	+	.	+	+	+	o o/
N17	+	+	+	+	o	o o
N38	o	o	o	+	+	+
N57	+	+	+	+	+	o o/
N62	+	+	+	+	+	. o/
N76	.	.	+	+	+	o o;
Ur5	o	o	.	+	a+	.
Ur10	+	+	+	+	+	+
X11	+	KA/x\	+	+	a+	+
X19	+	+	+	+	+	ta

*X19: rest of line not visible from photo.

4.	mu ₇ -mu ₇ -ma-ni	ùĝ	sa ₆ -ga
N8	+	+	+
N17	+	+	ĝá
N38	o	o	x
N57	+	+	+
N62	+	+	ĝá
N76	o	o	o
Ur5	o	o	o
Ur10	+	+	-
X11	.	.	/ĝá
X19	+	+	a

5.	nin	šà-ne-š _a ₄	lú	tí-tí	šùd-dè	ki	ág-ra
N8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N17	.	+	+	+	o	o	o
N25	o	o	+	+	+	+	+
N38	o	o	o	o	+	+	+
N57	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N58	o	.	+	.	o	o	o
N62	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	.	.	.	.	+	+
Ur5	o	o	o	.?	+	+	+
Ur10	+	+	+	.	.	.	+
X11	.	.	.	+	+	+	+
X19	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

*X19: rest of line not visible from photo.

6.	ša	gur-ru	ša-lá	sug ₄	a-ra-zu	giš	tuku-ġu ₁₀ -úr
N8	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+
N17	o	+	+	o o	o/	o	o o o
N25	+	+	+/	o o	+	+	+
N38	(traces)						
N57	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N58	o	o	+	o o o	o o o	o	o o o
N62	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	+	ra	+	+	+	+
Ur5	omits?						
Ur10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X19	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

*N8, X19: sù-

*X19: rest of line not visible from photo.

7. ù-na-dè-tah

N8	+	+	+	o
N17	o	+	o	o
N25	o	+	+	o
N57	+	+	+	+
N62	+	+	+	.
N76	o	o	o	o
Ur5	o	ne	+	+
Ur10	+	ne	+	+
X11	.	/ne\	.	.
X19	+	ne	+	+

8. ti-la ug₃-ga èn tar-bi za-e-me-en

N8	+	+	.	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o
N17	o	+	+	+/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N25	o	o	.	?	+	+	o	o	o	o	o
N57	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N62	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
N76	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	o	o	o
Ur5	omits										
Ur10	+	+	+	+bi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X11	o	o	+	+	+	+	re	NE-	+	+	+
X19	+	+	+	+bi	+	+	+	.	?	?	?*

*X19: rest of line not visible from photo.

9. lú-kud-lú-kud-ba du₇-du₇ gal-bi-me-en

N8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o
N17	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N25	o	o	x	x	+	o	o	o	o	o
N57	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N62	+	+	+	+	rá	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	+	+	+	rá	.?	+	+	.	o
Ur5	omits									
Ur10	+	+	+	+	bi	+	+	+	+	+
X11	o	.	+	+	da	+	+	+	+	.
X19	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	?*

*X19: rest of line not visible from photo.

10. ^{m d} inana-ka dumu-munus ^d en-líl-á-mah

N8	o	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o;/
N17	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	;/
N25	(traces)									
N57	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N58	-	+	o	o//	+	+	.	+	o	o
N62	+	+	+	kam	+	+	+	+	+	+/
N76	+	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	.	o
Ur5	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	+
Ur10	+	+	+	kam	+	+	+	+	+	+
X11	o	o	o	.	.	.	+	+	+	+/
X19	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	.

11. geme₂-zu na-ab-bé-a

N8	+	+	+	+	o	o
N17	.	+	+	+	+	+
N25	o	o	+	+	o	o
N57	+	+	+	+	+	+
N58	+	+	+	o	o	o
N62	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	+	+	.	o	o
Ur5	o	o	o	o	o	+
Ur10	+	+	+	+	+	+
X10	(traces)					
X11	+	+	+	.	o	o
X19	+	+	+	+	+	+

12.	ki-nú	šub-ba-ĝu ₁₀ -da	2-kam-ma-bi
N8	o .	+ + + +	+ + + +
N17	o o	o o + +	3 + o ta
N25	o o	+ + . o	o o o o
N57	+ +	+ + + +	+ + + +;
N58	+ +	ŠÁ . o o/	+ + . o
N62	+ +	+ + + +	. o o o
N76	+ + ì	+ + + .	. + + .
Ur5	o o	o o o o	o o .? ta
Ur10	+ +	ŠÁ + + -	+ ta àm- -
X10	o o	o . . .	. /x\ o o
X11	o o	o o o ta	+ x o o
X19	+ +	+ + + +	+ + + +

13.	ú-u ₈ -a-u ₈ -a	al-ĝen-na-ĝu ₁₀	a-rá-bi nu-zu
N8	o o o o o + .	o o o o o o	o o o o o
N17	o + o o o + + + +//	o . + + +	o . + + +
N25	o o o o . + o	o o o o o o o	o o o o o
N57	ù + + + -/ + + +	ma + + + + +	ma + + + + +
N58	+!+e+ o o/ + .	o o// + + + o +	o o// + + + o +
N62	+ + + + - + .	o o/ + + + o o	o o/ + + + o o
N76	+ + + + + . . + .	. . . + o	. . . + o
Ur5	o o o o o o o	o o +// o o o o o	o o +// o o o o o
Ur10	- +!e+ - e - - -	+ + + + + ù	+ + + + + ù
X10	o o o . - + + +	o// o o + + .	o// o o + + .
X11	o o o o o . un	+ + + + o o o	+ + + + o o o
X19	. . + + + + +	ne +// o o . + +	ne +// o o . + +

*N62: bottom edge has ^{md}[...]

14.	nin-ĝu ₁₀	é ma-an-dù-ma	igi lá-bi	ba-tuš-en
N8	. +	+ + + + +	+ + +	. . .
N17	o .	+ + + + +/	. + .	. DIB+
N25	o o	+ o o o o	o o o	o o o
N57	+ +	+ + + NI +	+ + +	+ + +
N58	o .	o o + + +	o o o	o + +
N76	+ +	+ + + + +	+ + +	+ . o
Ur10	+ +	+ + + + -	+ + +	+ + e +
X10	o o	o + + + +	+ o o	o o o
X11	o .	+ + + + +	+ + .	. o o
X19	o o	o + + + +//	o o .	+ + .

15.	zu-a	kal-la-ĝu ₁₀	ĝiri ₃	kúr	mu-da-an-dab ₅ -bé-eš								
N8	. .	+ + +	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
N17	o o	. + +	o	+ /	o	o	o	o	o	+	-		
N57	+ +	+ + +	+	+	+	+	+	+	DU	-	-		
N58	o o	+ + + /	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+ +	+ + +	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o
Ur10	+ +	+ + +	+	+	ba	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X10	o o	o . +	.	. / /	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X11	o .	+ + +	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o
X19	o o	o o o	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o

16. lú èn tar-re la-ba-an-tuku

N8	.	+	+	+	+	.	.	.
N17	o	+	+	+	o	o	o	o
N57	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N58	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
N76	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	.
Ur10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X10	o	o	o	+	+	+	.	o
X11	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o
X19	o	o	+	+	+	.	o	o

17. im-ma-si im-ma- diri-ga-ta

N8	+	+	+	mu	da	ab	+	.	.
N17	.	+	+	mu	da		o	o	o;
N57	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
N58	+	+	+	mu	da	ab	+	-	-;
N76	+	+	+	+	+		o	o	o;
Ur10	.	+	an	+	+		+	+	+
X10	o	o	o	mu	da	ab	.	o	o
X11	o*	.	ab.	/x\	o		o	o	o
X19	o	o	o	o[d]	a	ab	+	o	o

*X11: room for more than just im.

18. zi al-ir-ir-re-en

N8	+		+	+	+	+	.
N17	+		+	+	o	o	o
N57	+		+	+	+	+	-
N58	+		+	+	+	+	+
N76	o		.	+	+	-	+
Ur10	.	ĝu ₁₀	.	.	+	-	-
X10	o		.	+	+	.	o
X19	o		.	+	+	.	o

19. tukum-bi nin-âá an-na-kam

N8	.	+	.	.	.	.	.
N17	+	+	+	+	o	o	o
N49	.	o	o	o	o	o	o
N57	+	+	+	âul0	+	+	+
N58	+	+/	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	.	o	o	+	+	+
Ur10	.	+	o	o	+	+	dùg
X10	o	.	+	+	+	.	o
X11	.	+	+	âul0	ra.	o	o
X19	o	..?	+	..?	..?	o	o

20. á-sàg su-âá âál-la su-âá hé-cb-ta-an-zìg

N8	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	-	íb	+	+	+
N17	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o
N49	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
N57	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	íb	+	+	+
N58	.	+	+	+	+	+bi	-	-//	+	+	-	.
N76	+	+	.	.	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	+
Ur10	o	o	+	-	+	.	o	.	-	íb	+	+
X10	o	o	o	.	+	+bi.	o	o	o	o	o	o
X11	.	+	+	+	al	+	+	+	âul0-	í[bo	o	o
X19	o	o	o	..?	+	.	o	o//	o	o	+	.*

*X19: rest of line not visible from photo.

21.	ki-in-DU	nam-ti-la-ka	ġiri ₃ -ġu ₁₀	hé-bí-ib-gub-bé
N17	+ + +	+ . o o/	+ +	+ + o o o
N49	+ + .	o o o o/	. o	o o o o o
N57	+ + +	+ + +* ke4/	+ ġá	+ + + + + en
N76	+ + +	. o o .	. +	+ + + + +
Ur10	+ - -	+ + + +	+ +	+ + + + +
X10	o o o	. + + o//	o o	o o + + o
X11	+ + +	+ + + +	+ +	ha/x\ o o o
X19	o o o	o + + +//	o o	o o íb + +

*N57: la followed by erasure

22. ù êc₂₆- e geme₂-ni hé-me-en

N8	.	+	+	+	+	.	.
N17	+	+	+	+	.	o	o
N49	+	+	+	o	o	o	o
N57	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	o	o	+	+	+	+	+
Ur1	(traces)	o	o	o	o	+	+
Ur10	+	+	+	+	zu	-	+
X10	o	o	o	o	+	o	o
X11	+	+	+	+	h[uo	o	
X19	o	o	o	o	+	+	+

23. é-a- ni kisal-luh-bi hé-me-en igi-ni-šè ga-gub

N8	.	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	.
N17	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o/	+	+	+	+	.
N57	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	hé
N76	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ur1	+	za	a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	hé
Ur10	+	za	a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	hé
X10	(traces)												
X11	+	+	+	+	+	+	..?	o	o//	+	+	+	+
X19	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	o/	o	o	+	+

24. ù-ba-sa₆-ge nin-êu₁₀ lú-ku₃-da du₇-du₇

N8	.	+	+	+	+	+	x	.	du	+	.
N17	+	+	+	+	+	./	+	+	du	.	o/
N38	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	.	.	.	o
N57	+	+	+	+	+	gá/	+	+	+	+	+
N76	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	du	+	+
Ur1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	du	+	+
Ur10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X11	+	+	.	/x\	*//	+	+	+	.	+	+
X19	o	o	o	+	en	+	o	o	o	o	o/

*X11: [...]

25. mu-šè ga-an- sa₄

N8	+	+	a	+	+	+
N17	+	+	a	+	+	.
N38	o	o		+	-	+
N76	o	o		+	-	+
Ur1	+	zu		+	àm-mi-íb	+
Ur10	+	zu		+	àm-mi-íb	+
X11	sa4	ga	/x\	o	o	o
X19	+	+		+	.	o

SEpM 20. Dedication of a Dog to Nintinuga (B18, 5.7.2)

Sources

N5 = 3N-T292 (Ali 1964, pl. xxxii = ArOr 34, 1966 292f.)	= 1–18
N58 = CBS 14049 + N 846 (Ali 1964, pl. xl)	= 3–7
N60 = CBS 14115 (Behrens 1988, 32)	= 15–18
N70 = Ni 3023 + Ni 4144 + Ni 4452 + Ni 4473 + Ni 4483 + Ni 4484 (SLTN 131 + ISET 2 123 + ISET 2 121 + ISET 2 22 + ISET 1 101 + ISET 1 67)	= 1–4
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29–16–139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv–xxv)	= 1–9
N79 = Ni 9811 (ISET 1 185)	= 5–6
Ma1 = 00-T78	= 5, 9, 6–7, 10, 14, 16, 16a
X11 = MS 2290 ¹¹	= 1–18

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 144–148; Ali 1966, 289–293

Translation: Hallo 2000, 395f.

Commentary: Civil 1969, 180.

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N5 = A	A = N5
N58 = D	B = N76
N70 = C	C = N70
N76 = B	D = N58
N79 = E	E = N79

Textual Matrix

1.	^m lugal-nesaĝ-e	dumu	zu-zu	um-mi-a	nibru	^{ki}	-ke ₄
N5	+	+	+	+	+	+	o o
N70	+	+	+	+	.	o o o o o	o o
N76	o o	o	o o	o	+	+	+
X11	o o	.	ĝe26+	.	.	+	+

¹¹ Collations courtesy of K. Volk (Nov. 2008).

2.	tu ₆ -ni-lú-sag ₉	ur	kíĝ-gi ₄ -a-ka-ni
N5	+ + + +	+	+ + + + +/
N70	+ + + +	+	+ + o o o//
N76	o o o o	+	+ + + + +/
X11	o .? + +	.	+ + + + +!//

	^d	nin-tin-	ug ₅ -ga-ra	mu-na-an-dím
N5		+ +	+ + + +	+ + + .
N58		+ o	o o o o/	. o o o
N70		+ +	+ + + +	+ . o o
N76		o o	o o o .	
X11		o .	tí l[a].	+ + + un na +

3.	nam-bi-šè	ur-e	nin-a-ni-ir	kun	mu-na-ab-gùn-gùn
N5	+ + +	+ +	+ + + +/	+	+ + + + +
N58	+ + o	o o	o o o o/	+	+ . o o o
N70	+ + o	. .	. o o o//	+	+ . o o o
X11	. + +	+ +	+ + + +//	.	+un + + x x

	šeg ₁₁	mu-na-ab-gi ₄
N5	+*	+ + + .
N58	+	+ + o o
N70	(traces)	
X11	—	+un + + sè ge

*N5: šeg11⁻

4.	nin	an	ki-bi	šukur ₂	sum-ma	agrig	^d en-líl-lá
N5	+	+	++*	+	+	+	+
N58	+	+	++	o	o	o/	+
N70	.	.	oo	o	o	o	o
N76	o	o	oo	o	o	+	+
X11	.	+	++	ta+	+	+	DU[B]

*N5: bi followed by erasure

5.	akan	^{a - ka - an}	dùg	kur-kur	šà	si-si	nam-hé-a	de ₆ -de ₆ -e
N5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N58	omits							
N76	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	+
N79	.	.	.	.	.	.	o	o
Mal	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+
X11	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
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	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
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	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.	.	./	UN
	+	+	+	+	.</			

6.	á-sàg	sim _x	-ma	šà-bi	bar	ak
N5	++	+	+	+	+	+
N58	++	.	o	o	o	o
N76	++	+	+	+	+	+
N79	++	+	simx+	+	+	.
Ma1	++	KAK.KAK	+	mú?	o	bí
X11	++	.	.	+	.	+

	ġiri ₃ -pa _x -rá	igi	bar-re
N5	+	+	+
N58	+	o	o
N76	+	+	+
N79	+	+	+
Ma1	+	+	+
X11	+	+	+

7.	sa	nam-ti-la	sa	nam-úš-a-ka
N5	+	+	+	+
N58	+	+	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+
Ma1	+	+	+	+
X11	.	+	t[il]	.

	igi	saġ ₃ -saġ ₅	níġ-keš ₂ -bi	sa ₆ -ge
N5	+	+	+	+
N58	+	+	.	o
N76	+	+	+	+
Ma1	+	.	+	lá
X11	+	+	?	-

*N5: bi followed by erasure

8.	níġ	ra-ah-a	du ₁₁ -ga	zi	ir-ra	ki-gig-bi	zu-zu
N5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ma1	omits						
X11	+	+	+	.	+	+	[r]a

9.	a-zu	sa ₆ -ge	šim-mú	dú-ra-ta	šà	lú-ulu ₃	igi	du ₈		
N5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/	+	+	+
N76	o	.	+	+	.	+	++	+/	o	o
Ma1*	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	tí/	+	+
X11	+	+	sè	+	.	.	.	+	+	+

*Ma1: line 9 written between lines 5 and 6

10.	nin-ĝu ₁₀	mu-un-dím-en-na								
N5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ma1*	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X11	+	+	.	.	+	/x\	o			

*Ma1: line 10 follows line 7

11.	tu ₆ -ni-lú-sa ₆	mu-šè	mu-un-sa ₄							
N5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ma1	omits									
X11	omits? or with line 10?									

12.	X	ba-an-sag ₉ -ga	mu-šè	mu-sa ₄ -a						
N5	x	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
X11	omits									

13.	[X]-ga-DI	zi-pa-ág	ù-mu-ni-[X X]							
N5	.	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	o	o/
Ma1	omits									
X11	omits									

á-/sàg\ zi ba-an-/da\-[X]

N5	+	.	+	+	+	.	o			
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14.	mu-ĝu ₁₀	mu-zu-	ta	im-da-an-pàd						
N5	.	+	+	+	+	+	++	.		
Ma1	o	o	+	+	+	+	++	+		
X11	+	-	+	./a\.	./?	o/x\	o			

15.	nam-gur ₄ -ra-zu	ki-zu	ì-kîg-ĝe ₂₆	
N5	.	.	o	.
N60	+	+	+	+
Mal	omits			
X11	+	nam+	+	.
			.	/x\ o o
16.	tu ₆ -ni-lú-sag ₉	mu-šè	mu-un-	sa ₄
N60	+	+	+	+
Mal	o	o	o	o
X11	+	+	.	.
		+	.	.
			ni	in
			+	a
			.	a
16a.	ma-an-sa ₆ -ga	mu-šè	mu-sa ₄ -a-me-en	
Mal	o	o	o	o
X11	+	+	+	.
		+	.	.
			+	?
			ni	?
			+	+
			+	+
			+	+
17.	u ₄ ti-la-ĝá	igi	hu-mu-un-du ₈	
N60	+	+	+	+
Mal	(traces)			
X11	+	+	+	a.
		+	.	.
		+	+	.
18.	u ₄ ba-úš-en	kur-ra	a	si-ga
N5	o	o	+	+
N60	+	+	+	+
Mal	(traces)			
X11	+	+	+	+
		+	+	.
		.	.	.
		+	+	+
		.	.	.

¹² Reading of the line based on Civil's collations as published in RA 63, 1969, 180.

SEpM 21. Inim-Inana to Enlil-massu (B19, 3.3.11)**Sources**

N5 = 3N-T292 (Ali 1964, pl. xxxii = ArOr 34 (1966) 292f.)	= 1
N22 = 3N-T902, 67 (SLFN 24)	= 1-4, 15
N39 = CBS 7128	= 1
N55 = CBS 13986	= 1-15
N56 = CBS 14000 (PBS 1/2 91)	= 1-15
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29-16-139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv-xxv)	= 6-15

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 149-152.

Commentary: Jaques 2006, 449 n. 976 (l.3); Woods 2008, 295 ex. 668 (l.3).

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N56	A	A	N56
N76	B	B	N76

Textual Matrix

1.	^m	^d	en-lil-mas-su	ù-na-dug ₄	
N5	o	o	.	+	o +/ o + a .
N22	o	o	o	o	o (traces)
N39	o	o	o	o	+
N55	+	+	+	+	+
N56	+	+	+	+	+
					ra+ + +
					+
					+
					+
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					+
					+

*N55: a followed by erasure

5. na-^d en-líl ù^d en-líl-al-sag₉

N55 + + + + + + + +

N56^m + + + + + + + +

6. um-mi-a ŠU.IGI.DU-zu-ne

N55 + + + + + ke4 +

N56 + + + + + . + +

N76 o o o . . o o o

7. ^dnin-imma₃ diġir-zu

N55 + + + + +;

N56 + + + + +

N76 o o . + +;

8. ù^d nisaba nin ġeštug₂ daġal-la-ke₄

N55 + + + + + + - +;/

N56 + + + - + + + +

N76 + + + + . o o o;/

9. ġeštug₂ ha-ra-ab-šúm-mu-ne

N55 + + + + + + +

N56 + + + . + +

N76 + + + . o o o

10. níġ im-ma im-sar-re-a

N55 + + + + + + +;/

N56 + + + íb + + +

N76 + + + + + + +;

11. iri šu-bi nu-ġi₄ al-me-a nu-e-zu-ù

N55 + + + + + + - + + + .

N56 + + + + + + + + . + -

N76 + + + . + + + +/ + + + +

12. 2 ġín kug-babbar 1 túġ 2 túġ bar-sig₉

N55 omits

N56 + + + + + + + + + +

N76 + + + + + + + + + +

13. lú-ġi-na šu mu-ra-tak₄-tak₄ šu ti-ba-ab

N55 omits

N56 + + + + + +ab. o o o o o

N76 + + + + + + + . + + + +

14.	ha-la	da ₁₃ -da ₁₃	ama-zu	šu nam-bí-te-en-têg																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																	</
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SEpM 22. Inim-Inana to Lugal-ibila (B20, 3.3.12)**Sources**

N24 = 3N-T904, 169 (SLFN 22)	= 5–12
N29 = 3N-T917, 362 (Ali 1964, pl. xlii = SLFN 26)	= 1–7, 12
N64 = CBS 15079	= 1–10
N76 = Ni 9701 + N 3210 + N 3264 + N 3266 + N 3294 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 7314 + UM 29–16–139 (+ N 346) (ISET 2 114 + Ali 1964, pls. xxiv–xxv)	= 1–12
N79 = Ni 9706 (ISET 2 111–112 = OrNS 22 pls. 38–39 = UMB 17/2 fig. 4)	= 2–12
X4 = Ash 1922–258 (OECT 5 25)	= 1–12

Bibliography: Editions: Ali 1964, 153–155; Civil 2000, 107–109, and 117.

Translation: Vanstiphout 2004, 59f.

Commentary: Jaques 2006, 308 n. 634 (l.3)

Concordance of sigla used here and by Ali 1964:

N29	B	A	N76
N76	A	B	N29

Concordance of sigla used here and by Civil 2000:

N24	F	A	N76
N29	B	B	N29
N64	D	C	N79
N76	A	D	N64
N79	C	E	X4
X4	E	F	N24

Textual Matrix

1.	^m lugal-ibila	^ù na-dug ₄
N29	o + .	o o o
N64	+ + +	+ + o
N76	+ + +	+ + +
X4	o o .	ra . . a o
2.	^m inim- ^d inana-ke ₄	na-ab-bé-a
N29	+ + + +	o/ + + . o
N64	+ + + +	+ + + + o
N76	+ + + +	+ + + + +
N79	(traces)	
X4	o o o .	. + + + +

3. eme-gir₁₅-šè gú-zu na-ab-šub-bé-en

N29	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o
N64	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
N76	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+
N79	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X4	o	o	o	+	+	+	an	+	+	+

4. 2-kam-ma-šè eme si sá-bi-šè lú mu-e-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄

N29	.	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o/	+	+	+	+	+	o	o
N64	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-/	+	+	o	o	o	+	+
N79	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
X4	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	.

4a. [. . .] hé-ġál

X4 o + +

5. lú-tur igi-zu-šè al-durun-ù-na

N24	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	nam
N29	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	o
N64	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	+	+	.	ta	+	+	un
N79	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	o
X4	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	nam

6. é-dub-ba-a-ta na-ab-ta-è-en

N24	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	-
N29	.	+	+	+	o/	+	+	+	.
N64	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	e
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
N79	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	o	o
X4	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	.	+

7. na-an-ga-ma lú na-me lul i-ri-ib-sì-ke

N24	o	o	o	o	o	.	+/	o	o	o	o	sa6-ge
N29	o	+	+	+	+	o	o/	.	o	+	+	o
N64	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N76	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	.
N79	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o/	.
X4	+	.	.	o	.	+	.	o	.	+	+	+/ta\

8.	ugu	ad-da-na-šè	ga-àm-âen	a-ra-ab-bé
N24	o	o o o o +//	o o o	++ ++ en ma
N64	+	++ ++	++ + DU	++ o o
N76	+	++ ++	++ o/	++ + .
N79	.	++ ++	+ - +	++ . o
X4	+	. o o o	o o o	o o + e a

9.	en-na	âiškim	âe ₂₆ - e	ù za - e
N24	o o o	o	o . + +/	
N64	++ +	+	++ ++ +	+
N76	++ +	+	++ ++ +/	
N79	++ +	+	++ ++ ./	
X4	. . o	o	o o o o	o

KA ì-bal-en-da-na

N24	o	o o o + +!
N64	+	+ . o o o
N76	+	++ ++ ++
N79	+	/x\+ e + bi a-ra-ab-bé-a
X4	o	o . e dè + dè en

10. lú mu-e-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄-a

N24	o	o o o o + + ma
N64	o	+++ - + . /x\
N76	+ ù	+ - +++ + -
N79	o	+ - +++ o o
X4	.	. o o o + + +

11. lú-tur šu nam-bí - bar-re-en

N24	o o o o o	. + -
N64	(traces)	
N76	++ + + +	++ -
N79	o o . + .	+ . +
X4	o + + +	ba/e\+ + +

12. [x x (x)] ba-ni-tuku

N24	o	o o +//
N29	o	o o o//
N76	o	o /x\ +
N79	o	. + +
X4	[l]ú tur silim-ma-ni ad-da [x x] ka-za in-tuku	

	a-ma-ru-kam			
N24	o	o	o	+
N29	o	o	+	o
N76	+	+	+	+
N79	+	+	+	+
X4	+	+	o	+

ANL 1. Gudea to His God (3.3.20)**Sources**

N116 = UM 29-15-995	= 1-10
N118 = HS 1444 (TMH NF 3 56) ¹³	= 1-10
Su2 = MDP 27 104	= 10

Bibliography: Editions: Kramer and Bernhardt 1961, 20f.

Commentary: Civil 1976, 78 (1.5); Böck 1996, 11f, 19; Bauer 2002.

Textual Matrix

1. diĝir-ĝá ù-na-dug_t

N116 + + + + /a\+

N118 + + + + +

2. ^mgù-dé-a arad₂-zu na-ab-bé-a

N116 + + + + + + + + o o

N118 + + + + + + + + + +

3. udu-gin₇ sipad gi-na nu-tuku

N116 + + + + + + un./

N118 + + + + + + + +

4. na-gada gi-na nu-mu-un-túm-túm-mu

N116 + + + + + + . o o o

N118 + + + + + + + + + +

5. dam-gàr saĝ dù-dù nu-zu bal-šè mu-e-ni-ak

N116* . + ra + + + + ./ + + + + + +

N118 + + + + + + + + + + + - +

*N116 reverses the order of ll. 5 and 6

6. anše-gin₇ ^{kuš}usan₃ hul-ĝál-la hul-ĝál-la bí-in-[x]

N116 + + + + + . o/ + + + + . o

N118 + + + + + + + / + + + + + o

¹³ Not collated in Wilcke 1976b.

7. saĝ ì-tuku inim nu-um-me igi tuku

N116 o ++ igi + mu o o o/

N118 + ++ + + + + + +

igi mu-un-íl

N116 KA NI/x\KA (traces)

N118 + + . +

7a. N116 adds: gi-na [...] / ba-da-/x\ [...]

8. níĝ ak-a-ĝu₁₀ igi a-rá 7-e nu-un-DU x x

N116 . + o o o o o o o/ + .? o o o

N118 + + ++ + ++ ++ + + + x x

9. zag-ba a-rá 7-e nu-mu-un-da-pàd

N116 . + o o o o o o o/ + da /x\

N118 + + ++ +++ + + + +

10. diĝir-ĝu₁₀ lú kúr di nu-me-en

N116 o + + + ra . . o o/

N118 + + + + + + + +

Su2 + + + + zu — + + +/

šà-zu ki-bi ha-ma-ab-gi₄-gi₄

N116 + + + + + o o o o

N118 + + + + . + + + .

Su2 ba-ar-mé en tar-re

ANL 6. Lu-Ninurta to Inana-andul-duga (3.3.34)**Version A Sources****N111** = Ni 4326+ Ni 9534 (ISET 2 119) = Version A, ll. 5–12**N115** = UM 29-15-972 (WO 9 13) = Version A, ll. 1–12*Bibliography:* Editions: Cohen 1977.*Textual Matrix*1. ^d inana-an-dùl-du₁₀-[ga-ra ù-na-a-dug₄]

N115 ? o o o o o o

2. ^m lú-^d nin-urta ugula é-^d nin-urta-ke₄

N115 o o o + + + + + + + . /

3. na-ab-bé-a

N115 + + + +

4. [^m a-a-an-dùl] arad₂-nam-en-na^d nin-urta-ke₄

N115 o o o o o + + + + + + + .

5. [a-an-^d] nin-urta-ke₄ šu ba-an-ti-eš-ma

N111 o o o o o + o o o o o o

N115 o o o . + + + + + + + +

6. [. . .]^{ki} -ga-ka al-dúr-ru-ne-eš

N111 o o o . + o o o o

N115 o + + + + + + + +

7. [. . .]-zu-šè ba-ab-du₇-un

N111 o + + + + o o

N115 o + + + + + . ?

8. nibru^{ki} -šè lú gi₄-ma-[ab]

N111 o . + + + /x\ o

N115 . + + + + + o

9. [x]-zu sá ga-ra-ab-[dug₄]

N111 o . + + + . o

N115 o . + + + + o

10. tukum-bi du₁₀-sa-mu za-e-[me-en]

N111 . + + + o o o o o

N115 . + + + + + + o o

11. [x]-zu sum-ma-ab /x\-[(x). . .]

N111 o o + + + o o

N115 o + + + + . o

12. a-ma-ru-kam

N111 o . + o

N115 o . o o

Sources

N110	o	o	o o .	ir +	+ - + +	+ + +
X18	.	.	+ + +	+	+ + + +	+ + +

6. mu-da 3-kam-ma-ta lú-da im-mi-gi₄
 N110 o . . . + + . + + +in+
 X18 + + + + + + + + + + +
7. ki al-dúr-ru-ne-eš-àm é um-mi-a-ka ù igi-gá nu-sag₉
 N110 o o . . + + a ++ + + ke₄/ . + + + +
 X18 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ša
8. ù lú al-tur-ra ^mKA- ^dnin-urta-ra in-na-dug₄
 N110 omits
 X18 + + + + + + + + + + + + +
9. mu é um-mi-a-gá-ke₄ kag-gu₁₀ nu-ba
 N110 omits
 X18 + + + + + + + + + + +
10. a-da-al ki al-dúr-ru-ne-eš-a é dub-ba-a gi-na in-nu
 N110 o o . + + + + + + + + / . + + + + + + +
 X18 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
11. nam-dub-sar-ra nu-mu-un-da-zu-zu
 N110 o o o o + + + + + +
 X18 + + + + + + + + + + +
12. ka-inim-ma 20-àm 30-àm nu-mu-un-da-šed
 N110 o o o o o . + + - + - .
 X18 + + + + + + + + + + + +
13. èn-du 10-àm 20-àm nu-mu-un-da-bal
 N114 o . + + + + o o o o o
 X18 + + + + + + + + + + +
14. dub-saĝ-ta é um-mi-a-gá-ka ka-gu₁₀ nu-ba-e-en
 N114 omits
 X18 + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
15. nibru^{ki} -a é-dub-ba-a dili-àm al-me-a nu-e-zu
 N114 o + + + + + + a gin₇ . o o o o o
 X18 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

16. [x x] nu-zu-a i-ra-an-dug₄-ma

N114 o o + - e + + + +

X18 [x (x)]* + + +++ + + +

*X18: room for 1 or 2 small (squashed?) signs

egir ka-ka-na è-dè-en

N114 + + + + o o o

X18 . + + ì . + +

17. nam-mu-šè nam-dub-sar-ra mu-da-zu-zu-a

N114 o + + + + + + + + o o o

X18 o o + + + + + + + + + + +

18. nibru^{ki} ì-si-in^{ki} -na dù-a-bi èn tar-bi

N114 . + + + + - + + + + + o

X18 o o + + + + + + ù + + + +

19. ka-inim-ma èn-du na-rú-a eme-ĝir₁₅ ka-tar

N114 . + + + + + + + + + + +

X18 o o o o o . + + +* + +

*X18: ĝir₁₅ followed by two erased signs

20. x (x) zà nam-gala-šè ga-ne-cb-zu-zu

N114 o o + + + + + + + + +

X18 o o o o . + + + + + + NE

21. nibru^{ki} -gin₇-nam ki-gal-la ga-ne-cb-gub

N114* o o . + + + - + + + +

X18 o o o . + + + + + + +

*N114: after line 22

22. x x kug-sig₁₇ l gú kug-babbar ugu-ne-ne-a ga-ne-cb-ĝar

N114* o o .? .? + + + + + + + + + + +

X18 o o o o o o + AŠ + + + + + + +

*N114: before line 21

23. [...] da-ra nam-bí-šub-bé-en

N110 o /x x\ . . . +

N114 o/x\ + + + + + -

X18 + + + - + + +

24. di₄-di₄-lá-e-ne inim x

N110 . + + + . . ./

N114 o o o o o . .

X18 o o o o o o .

nam-bí-ib-dù-e-en

N110 + ba - + + +

N114 + ma e . . o

X18 + + + + + +

25. nam-dub-sar-ra nam-bí-ib-dib-bé-en

N110 o + + + . o . + + +

X18 o o o o . + + + + +

26. x x a-la-la izi lú ša hé-zu-zu-ne

N110 o o o + + + . . . + + +

X18 o o o o o o o o . + +

27. [u₄]-da egir-bi-šè eme-sig nam-bí-gu₇-gu₇

N110 o . + + . . . o + . +

X18 o o o o o o o o o + .

ANL 10. Saĝ-lugalbi-zu to Nur-Kabta (3.3.16)**Sources**

- N105** = 3N-T904, 175 (Michalowski 1978, 120) = ll. 3–6
N117 = UM 29-16-41 (Michalowski 1978, 120) = ll. 1–4, 6–9
X24 = LB 1013 (TLB 3 173¹⁴) = ll. 1–10

Bibliography: Editions: Michalowski 1978, 114–117.

Commentary: Attinger 1993, 226, 594 (l. 7); Civil 1999–2000, 184 (l. 4); Jaques 2006, 120 (l. 9).

Concordance of sigla used here and by Michalowski 1978:

N105	C	A	N117
N117	A	B	X24
X24	B	C	N105

Textual Matrix

1. ^mnu-úr- ^dkab-ta-ra ù-na-a-dug₄

N117 .+ + ++ + + + . – .

X24 ++ + ++ + + + + ++

2. ^msaĝ-lugal-bi-zu-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a

N117 ++ + + + + + + + +

X24 ++ + + + + + + + +

3. za-e zabar-dab₅ ù nar-gal-e

N105 o o . o o o o o//

N117 + ++ + + + + +

X24 + ++ + + + + o

3a. N105 [...]- bi – šè[. . .]

4. kù-^dnin-líl-lá abul-mah-a haš₄ dab₅-bé-da-en-zé-en

N105 o +en ++ o o o o o o o o o o

N117 + ++ ++ + + + + + + + + + +

X24 ^m + ++ ++ + + +ka/x\ o o o . + +

¹⁴ Collations: Wactzoldt 1976, 332.

5. a-šà gi₄-gi₄-dè ur-^dsuen-na [...]x

N117 omits

X24 + + + + + + + + o /x\

lugal-ĝu₁₀ nam-maškim ì-tuku-e /x\-[...]

X24 + +/ + + + + + o

5a. N105 [...] /x x x\ [...]

6. tukum-bi šà gi-na-zu-ta šeš-ĝu₁₀-me-en

N105 o o o + + . o o o o o

N117 + + + + + + + + + +

X24 + + + + + . + + . o .

6a. N105 [. . m]u? igi? DU? [...]

7. di-ĝu₁₀ LÚ*GÁNA-t.-éš na-an-ne-en

N117 + ta + + + + + -

X24 + + + + + + + né +

8. mu di-da-ka-ni igi-zu-šè KA bal-e

N117 + + + + . . + + + + bal

X24 + + + + + + + + + +

9. lú mu-e-ši-in-gi₄ gú-zu na-an-šub-bé-en

N117 + + + + + + + + + . o

X24 + + + + - + + + + + + +

10. a-ma-ru-kam

N117 omits

X24 + + + +

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INDEX OF SUMERIAN WORDS¹

a	SEpM 1:12, SEpM 12:3, 8, 9, 10	a-ša-ambar-murub ₄	p. 122
a-a	p. 87, SEpM 7:19, SEpM 18:2	a-zi-ga	SEpM 11:8
^m a-a-an-dùl	ANL 6a:4, ANL 6b:8	a-zu	SEpM 19:2, SEpM 20:9
a-an- ^d nin-urta	ANL 6a:5 (p. 191), ANL 6b:9	á	SEpM 1:2, SEpM 4:15, SEpM 10:9, SEpM 11:12, SEpM 12:11, SEpM 17:9, 10, ANL 6b:7
^m a-ba-in-da-sá	SEpM 1:6, SEpM 1a:3, 7	á-sàg	SEpM 19:20, SEpM 20:6 (pp. 176f.), 12
a-bi-qá-ti	SEpM 13:7 (p. 152)	á-tah	p. 156
a-da-al	ANL 9:10	áb	SEpM 7:7
^{kuš} a-ĝá-lá	SEpM 2:9 (p. 117), SEpM 4:14	ab-sín	SEpM 8:3
a-la-la	ANL 9:26 (p. 197)	áb-za-za	SEpM 6:4 (p. 128)
a-làl	SEpM 10:6 (p. 145)	abul-mah	ANL 10:4
a-kal-la	SEpM 21:4 (p. 179)	ad-da	SEpM 6:12, 13, SEpM 18:9, SEpM 22:8, ANL 4:2
a-ma-ru-kam	pp. 51, 52, SEpM 3:19, SEpM 4:19, SEpM 5:17, SEpM 11:13, SEpM 12:12, SEpM 15:12, SEpM 16:11, SEpM 17:19, SEpM 21:15, SEpM 22:12, ANL 3:8, ANL 6a:12, ANL 6b:12, ANL 10:10, ANL 11:10	ad-KID	p. 197
a-na	p. 49, ANL 6b:10	^m ad-lul	p. 46, SEpM 14:9
a-na-aš-àm	pp. 49, 87, SEpM 5:7, SEpM 17:4	ad ₆	SEpM 1:22
a-ra-zu	SEpM 19:6 (p. 172)	adab	p. 69
a-rá	SEpM 9:6, 11, 16, 21, 26, SEpM 19:13, ANL 1:8, 9, ANL 4:7	ag-ga	SEpM 9:3
a-ša(g)	SEpM 11:7, SEpM 13:3, 6, 10, 11, 14, ANL 10:5	àga-ús	p. 113
a-ša-ambar-ki	p. 122	agrig	SEpM 19:1, SEpM 20:4
		ág	
		á—ág	p. 132, SEpM 17:5, 18, SEpM 18:6, ANL 3:5, 7
		ki—ág	SEpM 19:5
		ak	SEpM 1:12, SEpM 4:10, 17, SEpM 11:6, ANL 8:8, 13, ANL 9:4 (p. 196)
		al—ak	SEpM 13:15
		bal—ak	ANL 1:5
		bar—ak	SEpM 20:6

¹ Number in parentheses refers to page in commentary where term is discussed.

en-nu-ùĝ—ak	SEpM 5:14	ba	p. 39
hu-hu-bu-uš—ak	p. 168	ba-al	
ir-si-im—ak	ANL 9:5	íd—ba-al	SEpM 4:11, 17
kíĝ—ak	SEpM 13:10, 12	^m ba-an-sa ₆ -ge-en	p. 46, SEpM 14:10
kíĝ bar—ak	SEpM 3:14	ba(d)	ANL 9:9, 14
	(p. 120)	bad(r)	
lib bar—ak	SEpM 18:15	AS—bad-rá	SEpM 8:20 (p. 139)
	(p. 169)	bal(a)	SEpM 3:4, SEpM
níĝ—ak	ANL 1:8		4:4, SEpM 8:25
úĭ ₄ —ak	SEpM 8:9 (p. 138)		(p. 140), ANL 4:21,
ur ₅ -da—ak	SEpM 8:13		ANL 9:13
akan	SEpM 20:5 (p. 176)	KA—bal(a)	SEpM 22:9 (p. 182),
^g is _{al}	SEpM 13:12		ANL 10: 8 (p. 200)
al-lub	p. 46	bal-bal-e	pp. 68, 69, 70
^d alad ₂	SEpM 18:4	balag	pp. 68, 93, 94
alan	SEpM 6:3, SEpM	^g is _{ban} šur	SEpM 1:25
	18:4	bar	SEpM 1a:4
ama	p. 87, SEpM	igi—bar	SEpM 7:20, SEpM
	7:17, SEpM 15:6,		20:6 (p. 177)
	SEpM 16:1, p. 158,	šu—bar	SEpM 22:11,
	SEpM 18:62,		pp. 181, 199
	SEpM 21:14	bar-saĝ ₃	p. 86, SEpM 18:14
amar	SEpM 7:7, SEpM	^u g _{bar} -sig ₉	SEpM 21:12
	8:19	bar-za	p. 140
amaš	SEpM 6:4 (p. 128)	bara ₂ (g)	SEpM 9:12, p. 141
an	SEpM 6:6, 8,	^d bil ₄ -ga-mes	SEpM 9:12, 13
	SEpM 10:4 (p.	bír	p. 139
	144), SEpM 20:4	zú—bír	p. 169
an-na-kam	p. 129, SEpM	bir ₉	p. 169
	13:8, SEpM 19:19	zú—bir ₉	SEpM 18:8 (p. 168)
an-ta-sur-ra	SEpM 10:7	^g is _{bisa} ĝ-šu	ANL 4:11 (p. 188)
	(pp. 144, 145)	bulug	SEpM 13:10
anšce	SEpM 1:3, p. 183,	buluĝ ₃	SEpM 6:4, ANL
	ANL 1:6		4:5, ANL 8:4
anšce-ĝiš	SEpM 17:7 (p. 163)	bur-šú-šú-a	SEpM 9:7
^g is _{apin}	SEpM 13:13	^{id} buranun	SEpM 11:4
	(p. 153)	búr	ANL 4:8
^g is _{ar} -ga-nu-um	SEpM 10:5 (p. 145)		
àr	SEpM 8:21	da-ab-ta ^{ki}	SEpM 13:3 (p. 151)
arad ₍₂₎	p. 87, SEpM	da-gal-tum	SEpM 17:13 (p. 164)
	1:7, SEpM 1a:2,	^d da-gan	SEpM 3:6
	SEpM 2:3, SEpM	da-ra	ANL 9:23
	4:3, SEpM 5:6,	dab ₃	SEpM 1a:10, SEpM
	SEpM 6:9, SEpM		2:6, SEpM 3:9,
	7:4, SEpM 8:7,		SEpM 7:8, SEpM
	ANL 1:2, ANL		8:4, 20,
	6a:4, ANL 6b:8		SEpM 17:17
arhuš	SEpM 7:7, 20	ĝiri ₃ kúr—dab ₃	SEpM 19:15
	(p. 130)	haš ₄ —dab ₃	ANL 10:4 (p. 199)
asil-lá	SEpM 8:14	šu—dab ₃	SEpM 7:8 (p. 130),
	(p. 139), p. 138		p. 133
aša ₅	SEpM 11:11	dag	
ašgab	SEpM 9:31	šu—dag	SEpM 8:12, SEpM
^m at-ta-ma-an-nu-um	SEpM 4:6 (p. 122),		18:15 (p. 169)
	SEpM 5:5	dag-ĝi ₄ -a	SEpM 15:7

daġal	SEpM 1:29, SEpM 21:8		19:14, ANL 8:13, ANL 9:18, 24 (p. 197)
dal	SEpM 8:13		
dalla	p. 132	du ₆ -numun ₂ -bur-ra	SEpM 9:12
dam-gàr	SEpM 10:2, SEpM 14:1, ANL 1:5	du ₇	SEpM 19:9, 24, ANL 6a:7
dàn	SEpM 1:20, p. 113	du ₈	SEpM 3:13
dar	p. 176	igi—du ₈	p. 144, SEpM 10:14, SEpM 18:20, SEpM 20:9, 17
dé	SEpM 10:12, ANL 8:12, ANL 12:6	na ⁴ du ₈ -ši-a	SEpM 17:15 (p. 165)
ú-gu—dé	pp. 40, 41, SEpM 14:1	du ₁₀ -sa	SEpM 7:15, ANL 6a:10
de ₆	SEpM 7:14, SEpM 12:8, SEpM 20:5, ANL 6b:6	du ₁₀ (g ₃)	pp. 87, 113, SEpM 1:7, SEpM 6:3, 11 (p. 129), SEpM 7:18 (pp. 134f.), SEpM 18:1, 7, SEpM 20:5
dí(d)	SEpM 7:2, ANL 10:7, 8 (p. 200)	du ₁₁ (g ₄)	SEpM 1a:14, SEpM 2:8, 10, SEpM 5:4, SEpM 6:7, SEpM 12:8, SEpM 13:10, SEpM 16:2 (p. 158), SEpM 18:20, SEpM 21:3, SEpM 22:8, ANL 9:8, 16
dí ₄ -dí ₄ -lá	ANL 9:5 (p. 196), 24		SEpM 8:14
dīb	ANL 9:25 (p. 197)	a—dug ₄	p. 167
dīb	ANL 6b:10 (p. 192)	al—dug ₄	ANL 1:10
didli	SEpM 17:12, 17, ANL 4:6	dì—dug ₄	SEpM 7:7 (p. 133)
diġir	SEpM 6:7, p. 127, SEpM 18:2, 4, SEpM 21:7, ANL 1:1, 10	igi—dug ₄	SEpM 3:11 (p. 119)
^m diġir-inim-siga	ANL 9:1 (p. 196)	inim—dug ₄	SEpM 13:10, ANL 1:7
dili	SEpM 5:14, SEpM 7:16, SEpM 13:14, ANL 9:15	na-ab-bé-a	p. 11, passim (in letters)
dili-bad	p. 139	níġ—dug ₄	SEpM 20:8 (p. 177)
dím	SEpM 6:6, SEpM 10:4, SEpM 20:2, 10, ANL 6b:11 (p. 192)	sá—dug ₄	ANL 6a:9, ANL 6b:7
diri(g)	p. 87, SEpM 5:6, SEpM 7:10 (p. 133), SEpM 8:25 (p. 140), SEpM 10:6, SEpM 19:17	šu sá—dug ₄	p. 119
DU	SEpM 1a:9, SEpM 9:30 (p. 141), SEpM 17:3, ANL 1:8, ANL 4:4 (p. 192), ANL 6b (p. 202), ANL 12:7	tu ₆ —dug ₄	SEpM 19:3
du-nu-um ^{ki}	SEpM 4:10 (p. 122), 17, ANL 4:3 (p. 187)	ù-na-(a-) dug ₄	pp. 11, 49, 50, 51
dú(d)	SEpM 6:3	ù-ne-(a-) dug ₄	p. 50
dú(r)	SEpM 20:9	du ₂₄ (n)	SEpM 7:13 (pp. 133f)
dù	p. 34, SEpM 1:18, SEpM 4:10, 17, SEpM 9:2, 7, 12, 17, 22, 33, SEpM	dub	ANL 4:6, 14
		dub-saġ	ANL 9:14
		dub-sar	p. 33, SEpM 1:15, SEpM 14:8, ANL 8:2, ANL 9:2, p. 197

dúb	SEpM 13:12 (p. 152)	en-am-gal-an-na	SEpM 9:29
naĝa—dúb	SEpM 7:5 (p. 132)	^m en-AŠ-i-lí-MAH	p. 110
dugud	SEpM 1a:11	^d en-ki	p. 87, SEpM 16:5
dul	SEpM 3:7	^d en-líl	SEpM 3:6, SEpM 9:12, 31, 33, SEpM 13:4, SEpM 18:8, 20, SEpM 20:4
dumu	pp. 71, 109, SEpM 1:27, SEpM 6:6, 10, SEpM 7:4, SEpM 8:7, SEpM 9:3, 8, 13, 18, 23, SEpM 10:2, SEpM 18:2, 9, SEpM 20:1, ANL 4:5, 19, ANL 8:4, ANL 9:2	^d en-líl-á-mah	pp. 43, SEpM 19:10
		^d en-líl-al-sag ₉	pp. 44, 47, SEpM 18:9, SEpM 21:4
		^d en-líl-ba-ni	ANL 11:1
dumu-munus	SEpM 19:10	^{md} en-líl-lá-ĝu ₁₀	SEpM 12:4
dúr	SEpM 4:8, SEpM 5:11, p. 124, SEpM 13:11 (p. 152)	^{md} en-líl-mas-su	pp. 43f, 47, SEpM 18:1 SEpM 21:1
dur ₁₀	p. 125	en-me-barag-ge ₄ -c-si	SEpM 9:1, 3
dur ₁₀ -tab-ba	SEpM 5:10 (p. 125)	en-na	SEpM 9:28, SEpM 22:9
é	SEpM 6:12, 13, SEpM 7:13, 20, SEpM 8:15, p. 136, SEpM 19:14, 23 p. 132	en-nu-ùĝ	SEpM 3:12, SEpM 5:14
é-bar ₆ -bar ₆	SEpM 4:4, 5	èn-du	ANL 4:8 (p. 188), ANL 9:13, 19
é-dana ^{ki}	p. 71, SEpM 22:6, ANL 4:5, 19, ANL 9:10, 15	engar	SEpM 13:13 (p. 152)
é-dub-ba-a	SEpM 9:2, 7, 17	enmen ₂	SEpM 18:11
é- ^d en-líl-lá	SEpM 18:6	ens ₂	SEpM 12:1, 7, SEpM 13:2, SEpM 14:6
é-gal	SEpM 8:20 (p. 139)	eridug ^{ki}	87, SEpM 16:5
é-HAR-HAR	SEpM 9:22, SEpM 19:1	^{ĝi} erin	ANL 3:3 (p. 185)
é-kur	SEpM 9:32	erin ₂	SEpM 1:6, SEpM 1a:3, 6, 7, 8, SEpM 3:6, 10, 15, SEpM 5:4, 8, 9, 10, SEpM 11:10, SEpM 12:9, SEpM 13:13 (p. 152)
é-kur-igi-ĝál	p. 34	eš-bar	SEpM 7:2 (p. 131)
é-nar	p. 87, SEpM 16:6	éš-gār	SEpM 13:4 (p. 152)
é-nar-gal	ANL 6a:2 (p. 191), ANL 6b:2, 4, 8	ešc ₂	SEpM 1:19
é-nin-urta	ANL 9:7, 9, 14	ešc ₃ ^{iku}	SEpM 13:11
é-um-mi-a	ANL 6b:4	ga	p. 87, SEpM 7:18
é-šu-me-ša ₄	p. 128	ga-ará	SEpM 1:25
(é)-tùr	SEpM 7:8 (p. 133)	ga-til	p. 38
é-ubur	SEpM 3:10, 14, SEpM 4:15, SEpM 5:15, SEpM 11:5, 7, 9, SEpM 22:6	gaba	SEpM 1:22, SEpM 13:11 (p. 152)
è	SEpM 7:1 (p. 131), SEpM 9:4, 9, 14, 19, 24	gaba-ri	SEpM 2:4, SEpM 3:5, SEpM 10:8
pa—è	SEpM 1:17, ANL 9:16	gada	SEpM 17:8
e ₁₁ (d ₃)	SEpM 7:6, SEpM 8:20, p. 188	^{ĝi} gag-pan	SEpM 4:12 (p. 123)
edin	151, SEpM 7:6, ANL 9:16, 27	gal	SEpM 9:31, SEpM 19:9
egir	SEpM 22:4, p. 188	gala	SEpM 14:10
eme	SEpM 22:3, ANL 9:19		
eme-gir ₁₅	SEpM 6:5, SEpM 9:29		
en			

[illegible]

ġiri ₃ -pa _x -rá	SEpM 20:6 (p. 177)		SEpM 22:5, ANL 3:4,
ġiš	SEpM 1:18, SEpM		7, ANL 9:7, ANL 10:8
	7:21, p. 139, SEpM	igi-lá	p. 34, SEpM 8:15
	10:5		(p. 139)
ġiš-gi	SEpM 1:24	igi-tuku	SEpM 1:10
ġiš-gi-du ₃ -lá	SEpM 11:7 (p. 147)	igi-tum-lá	p. 139, SEpM 16:7
ġiškim	SEpM 22:9		(p. 159)
ġuruš	SEpM 12:11 (p. 149)	iku	SEpM 13:3, 11
		íl	SEpM 7:21
ha-an-za-mu	SEpM 12:4	igi—íl	ANL 1:7
ha-la	SEpM 21:14	íl-a-ba ₄ -tah-lugal-ġá	SEpM 15:2 (p. 156)
ha-za	SEpM 7:6		
ha-za-nu-um	SEpM 14:11	im	SEpM 6:8, SEpM
urudu ₁ ha-zi-in	SEpM 10:4		17:17, SEpM 21:10
háb	SEpM 8:14 (p. 139)		(p. 179)
haš	SEpM 10:10	im-dub-ba	ANL 4:9 (p. 188)
héc-du ₇	SEpM 18:6, p. 196	im-gíd-da	pp. 108, 109, 110,
héc-ġál	pp. 34, 87, SEpM 16:5		111, ANL 4:9, 13
hu-hu-bu-uš	SEpM 18:10, (p. 168)	im-šu	ANL 4:9 (p. 188)
hu-rí-in ^{mušen}	SEpM 1:3	in	ANL 10:7
huġ	p. 166	ᵀinana	SEpM 6:4, SEpM
hul	SEpM 7:21 (p. 135),		9:29
	SEpM 8:24	ᵀinana-an-dùl-du ₁₀ -ga	ANL 6a:1, ANL 6b:1
hul-ġál	ANL 1:6		
húl	SEpM 7:21 (p. 135),	ᵀᵀinana-ka	p. 43, SEpM 19:10
	SEpM 21:3		(p. 172)
hur	SEpM 6:7 (p. 129)	ᵀinana-téš	p. 188
hur-saġ	SEpM 1:2, 3, SEpM	inim	SEpM 1:11, 16, 17,
	10:5		SEpM 1a:4, SEpM
			6:7, 8, SEpM 9:31,
ᵀi-din-ᵀda-gan	SEpM 3:3		SEpM 14:2, SEpM
i-la-ak-ni-id	SEpM 17:1 (p. 162)		18:1, SEpM 21:3
naᵀi-làl	p. 40		(p. 178), ANL 9:24,
i-si-iš	SEpM 7:11 (p. 133),	ᵀᵀinim-ᵀinana	p. 196
	p. 138, SEpM 18:12		p. 47, SEpM 21:2,
	(p. 169)		SEpM 22:2
i-ᵀutu	SEpM 8:3 (p. 137)	ᵀiq-bi-šúm	SEpM 13:7 (p. 152)
ì-lí-APIN	p. 109	ir	
ì-lí-i-din-nam	p. 109	zi—ir	SEpM 18:18, SEpM
ì-si-in ^{ki}	ANL 9:18		19:18, SEpM 20:8,
i ₃ -ġar	SEpM 8:15		p. 177
ia ₃	SEpM 1:25	iri	pp. 41, 87, SEpM
ᵀid-da-tum	ANL 3:2		1:20, SEpM 3:10,
íd	SEpM 3:4, SEpM		SEpM 4:7, SEpM
	12:9		5:14, 15, SEpM 7:12,
íd-amar-ᵀsuen	SEpM 4:9, 16, ANL		14, p. 130, SEpM
	4:3 (p. 187)		8:10, SEpM 16:4, 5,
idim	SEpM 8:5 (p. 138)		SEpM 21:11,
ġišig	SEpM 16:6		ANL 4:21
ᵀig-mil-ᵀsuen	SEpM 20:2 (p. 187)	iri-gibil	SEpM 4:8 (p. 122),
igi	SEpM 1:10, 21, SEpM		SEpM 5:11
	6:1, SEpM 7:16,	iri-na-nam	SEpM 9:2
	p. 134 SEpM 11:4	ġišisim ₂ ᵀar	SEpM 7:22
	(p. 147), SEpM 19:23,	ᵀiš-bi-ēr-ra	SEpM 9:32

^d ištaran	SEpM 7:2 (p. 131)	ki-en-gi	p. 188
iti(d)	SEpM 17:3, 4	ki-gal	ANL 9:21 (p. 196)
iti ezem- ^d nin-MUG		ki-gig	SEpM 20:8 (p. 177)
iti kin- ^d inana	ANL 11:5 (p. 201)	ki-in-DU	SEpM 19:21 (p. 173)
iti še-kin	p. 111	ki-nú	SEpM 19:12 (p. 172)
iti ₆	SEpM 7:1 (p. 131)	ki-tuš	SEpM 5:12
izi	SEpM 1:24, ANL 9:26	ki-ùr	SepM 6:13, SEpM 7:23 (p. 135)
		ki-uri	p. 188
ka(g)	p. 87, SEpM 7:5, 18, SEpM 8:19, SEpM 18:1, ANL 9:9, 14	kíĝ	SEpM 5:13
ka-ĝiri ₃	SEpM 3:16 (p. 120)	ki—kíĝ	SEpM 20:15 (p. 177)
ka-inim	ANL 4:8 (p. 188), ANL 9:12 (p. 197), 19	^l 0kíĝ-ĝi ₄ -a	SEpM 20:2, ANL 3:3, 5, 6, ANL 6b:6
ka-ku-la-tum ^(ki)	SEpM 2:4, 7, SEpM 3:5	^{ĝis} kibir ₂	p. 197
ka-tar	p. 49, ANL 9:19 (p. 197)	^{ĝis} kiri ₆	SEpM 8:14, p. 136, SEpM 9:17
KA	SEpM 8:25, ANL 9:16	kisal-luh	SEpM 19:23
^m KA- ^d nin-urta	ANL 9:8 (p. 197)	kišib ₃	pp. 40, 41, SEpM 14:1
^d kab-ta	SEpM 3:6, ANL 11:3	kù(g)	SEpM 6:4, 5, SEpM 7:14, SEpM 17:7, 8, 13, 14, 17
káb-ku ₃	SEpM 11:6 (p. 147)	kù(g)-babbar	SEpM 21:12, ANL 9:22
kal	SEpM 7:15, 20, p. 140, SEpM 18:4, SEpM 19:15	kù- ^d en-líl-lá	p. 199
KAL	SEpM 8:20	kù- ^d nin-líl-lá	ANL 10:4 (p. 199)
kalag	SEpM 1:9, SEpM 1a:10	kù(g)-sig ₁₇	SEpM 6:3, ANL 9:22
kalam	SEpM 3:7, SEpM 8:1, SEpM 19:2	ku ₄ (r ₉)	SEpM 2:7, SEpM 3:9, 14, SEpM 4:6, 7, SEpM 7:12, 13
kar	p. 87, SEpM 6:13, SEpM 7:10, 18, SEpM 12:5	ku ₅ (d)	SEpM 7:2
kár		ku ₇	p. 196
igī—kár	SEpM 1a:7	kur	SEpM 1:3, SepM 3:8, SEpM 7:1, SEpM 10:15 (p. 145), SEpM 20:5, 18, ANL 3:3 (p. 185)
kaš	SEpM 16:9 (p. 160), p. 196	kúr	SEpM 7:12, 13 (p. 130), SEpM 8:10
kaskal	SEpM 1a:6, SEpM 3:4, SEpM 15:3, 5, 11, SEpM 16:10, SEpM 17:3	kuš	SEpM 1:27
keše ₂ /kešda	SEpM 2:9, SEpM 4:14	kúš	SEpM 10:9
ka—kešda		kùš	SEpM 11:8
ki	p. 87, SEpM 1:4, 29, SEpM 7:19, SEpM 8:12, 23 SEpM 10:13, SEpM 18:19 (p. 170), SEpM 20:4, ANL 9:7, 10	lá	SEpM 1:4, 19, SEpM 3:17 (p. 120), SEpM 6:1, p. 127, SEpM 7:6, 7, 14 (p. 134), SEpM 8:15, 23
		igī—lá	SEpM 19:14
		še—lá	SEpM 1:13
		lag	SEpM 1:21, p. 134
		lah ₄	ANL 12:3
		lah ₅	SEpM 3:16
		lâl	SEpM 18:1
		^d lamma	SEpM 3:6, SEpM 18:4, SEpM 21:4 (p. 179)
		^m li-bur-ra-am	ANL 4:20 (p. 189)
		^{im} li-ĝi ₄ -in	p. 109

li-mu-um	SEpM 1a:8, SEpM 5:8, 9, 10	lugal-nesaĝe	pp. 38f, 43ff, 47, 130, SEpM 8:7 (p. 138), SEpM 18:8, SEpM 20:1
li-pí-it-eš ₄ -tár	SEpM 5:3	lugal-šú	pp. 43ff, SEpM 7:4, SEpM 21:4
libir	SEpM 4:7 (p. 122)	lugal-šuba	SEpM 10:2
lú	SEpM 1:19, 27, SEpM 3:10, SEpM 5:5, 9, 10, SEpM 6:12, 13, SEpM 7:9, 12, 16, 21, SEpM 13:5, 13, SEpM 14:4, SEpM 16:1 (p. 158), SEpM 18:8 (p. 168), SEpM 19:5, 16, SEpM 22:4, 7, 10, ANL 4:6, 7, 8, 13, 14, ANL 6a:8, ANL 6b:10, ANL 8:5, 15, ANL 9:6, 8, ANL 10:9	lugal-u ₄ -šú	p. 45
lú-dab ₃	SEpM 3:12	lugal-zid-a	ANL 11:5
lú-DUN-a	p. 134	lugud	SEpM 18:17 (p. 170)
lú-gi-na	p. 45, SEpM 21:13 (p. 180)	luh	SEpM 12:3
lú-gir ₇	SEpM 15:10 (p. 157), SEpM 16:10	lul	p. 46
lú- ^d inana	SEpM 9:31	LUL.AŠ	SEpM 15:7 (p. 157), SEpM 21:3 (p. 179)
lú-kaš ₄	p. 157	ma-sá-ab	p. 197
lú-ki-inim-ma	SEpM 14:12	maš	SEpM 1:14, SEpM 4:13, SEpM 7:10, SEpM 17:9, 10 (p. 164)
lú-ku ₃ (d)	SEpM 19:9, 24	mah	p. 86, SEpM 9:17, SEpM 11:6, SEpM 18:13
lú-kúr	SEpM 3:9, SEpM 5:4, 12, SEpM 8:22, ANL 1:10, ANL 8:11, 12	mar-tu	SEpM 2:5
lú- ^d nin-urta	ANL 6a:2 (p. 191), ANL 6b:2	mas-su	SEpM 17:10 (p. 164)
lú- ^d suen-na	p. 45, SEpM 14:5	máš	SEpM 1:2, SEpM 9:29
lú-ša	ANL 9:26	me-àm ^{ki}	p. 150
lú-šu	p. 188	me	
lú-tur	SEpM 22:5, 11	al-me-a	SEpM 21:11 (pp. 179f.), ANL 9:15
lú-ulu ₃	SEpM 20:9	hé-me-en	SEpM 1:11, SEpM 19:22, 23
LÚ*GÁNA-t.	ANL 10:7	me-en	SEpM 1:15
lu ₃ -lu ₃ -bi	p. 137	nu-me-a	SEpM 8:22, SEpM 13:13
lugal	pp. 18, 52, 87, 109, SEpM 1:1, 7, 9, 28, 29, SEpM 1a:1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, SEpM 2:1, 8, 10, 12, SEpM 3:3, 15, SEpM 4:1, 4, 12, 18, SEpM 5:3, 4, 5, 6, 7, SEpM 6:1, 10, 11, 14, SEpM 7:1, 2, 3, 23, SEpM 8:1, 5, 15, 25, SEpM 9:1, SEpM 13:1, 8, 15, SEpM 15:4, SEpM 18:7, 8, ANL 10:5	me-me	ANL 4:6 (p. 187)
lugal-an-né	SEpM 12:6	me-lám	SEpM 3:7
lugal-ibila	pp. 47f, SEpM 22:1	me-te	SEpM 18:5
lugal-me-lám	pp. 43, 45, SEpM 14:6	mè	SEpM 4:15 (p. 123)
		mes-an-né-pà-da	SEpM 9:7, 8
		mes-ki-âĝ- ^d nanna	SEpM 9:18
		mes-ki-âĝ-nun-na	SEpM 9:8
		mu	SEpM 3:15, SEpM 20:14, ANL 9:6 (p. 196)
		mu ^d amar- ^d suen-ka	SEpM 9:27
		mu gu-za nesaĝ-ĝá	p. 110
		mu ^d i-bí- ^d suen lugal-e	SEpM 9:28
		mu-dur ₇	SEpM 1:18, 20, SEpM 7:14 (p. 134)
		mú	SEpM 1:4
		mu ₄	SEpM 1:20, p. 134

mu ₇	SEpM 19:4		6b: 6, ANL 8:13,
mun	SEpM 15:8		ANL 9:5, 15, 18, 21
mun ₄	p. 145	nibru ^{ki} -ta-lú	SEpM 10:1 (p. 144)
mur	SEpM 8:18	^d nidaba	SEpM 21:8
muš-me	SEpM 18:20	níĝ	SEpM 1a:3, 14,
mušen	SEpM 7:9, SEpM 8:13		SEpM 14:4, SEpM
			21:10, ANL 8:15,
			ANL 9:4, p. 197
na-an-ni	SEpM 9:17, 18	níĝ-ba	ANL 4:17
^m na-bi- ^d cn-líl	pp. 43, 48, SEpM 21:5	níĝ-dab ₃	SEpM 13:5 (p. 152)
	(p. 179), ANL 8:2, ANL	níĝ-kas ₇	ANL 4:7, 14
	9:2	níĝ-kešc ₃	SEpM 20:7 (p. 177)
na-gada	ANL 1:4 (p. 184)	níĝ-PAD	pp. 150, 152
na-me	SEpM 14:4, SEpM	níĝ-sa ₁₀ -ám	p. 165
	21:3 (p. 178), SEpM	níĝ-sa ₁₀ -ma	SEpM 17:14 (p. 165)
	22:7	níĝ-ú-rum	p. 39
na-nam	p. 87, SEpM 5:6	nigin ₃	SEpM 1:24
na-rú-a	SEpM 1:15, ANL 9:19	nigir	SEpM 14:3, 12
na ₄	SEpM 10:7	NIM	SEpM 4:12 (p. 123)
na ₈ (ĝ)	SEpM 10:16 (p. 145),	ĝisnimbar	SEpM 1:4
	SEpM 20:18	nin	SEpM 7:20, SEpM
nagar	p. 197		19:3, 5, 14, 19, 24,
nagga	SEpM 17:14		SEpM 20:3, 4, 10,
nam	SEpM 18:12 (p. 169)		SEpM 21:8
nam-bi-šc	SEpM 20:3	nin-en-tu	p. 38
nam-dub-sar	SEpM 18:5, ANL 9:11,	^d nin-imma ₃	SEpM 21:7
	17, 25	^d nin-líl	SEpM 9:5, 10, 15,
nam-cn-na	ANL 6a:4, ANL 6b:8		20, 25, 30, SEpM
nam-gala	ANL 9:20		13:4 (p. 151)
nam-gur ₄	SEpM 20:15	^d nin-MUG	ANL 11:5 (p. 201)
nam-ĝu ₁₀	ANL 9:17	^d nin-šubur	pp. 39, 172
nam-hé	SEpM 20:5	^d nin-tin-ug ₅ -ga	p. 38, SEpM 19:1
nam-kala-ga	SEpM 3:8		(p. 172), SEpM
nam-lú-ulu ₃	SEpM 5:16		20:2
nam-lugal	p. 140	^d nin-urta	SEpM 13:4, ANL
nam-maškim	ANL 10:5		6a:4
nam-sa ₆ (g ₉)	ANL 8:13, 14	ninda	p. 152, SEpM 16:9
nam-šagina	ANL 4:4	NIR	(p. 160)
nam-til	p. 38, SEpM 19:21,	nir-ĝál	SEpM 1a:11
	SEpM 20:7	^{na4} nir-ud-sud	SEpM 6:5
nam-ur-saĝ	SEpM 3:8	^{na4} nir-igi	p. 165
nam-úš	SEpM 20:7	^{na4} nir ₇ -muš-ĝír	SEpM 17:15 (p. 165)
^d nanna	p. 87, SEpM 16:4	^{na4} nir ₇ -muš-sù-ud	SEpM 17:15 (p. 165)
^{md} nanna-ki-áĝ	SEpM 4:2, SEpM 5:1	^d nu-dím-mud-sig ₇	p. 165
^d nanna-me-ša ₄	p. 110	nu-čš	ANL 4:1 (p. 186)
nar	p. 33, 197	^m nu-úr- ^d kab-ta	SEpM 18:8 (p. 168)
nar-gal	SEpM 16:6, ANL		ANL 10:1 (p. 199)
	10:3		
ne-c	ANL 9:4	pa	SEpM 12:3, 7, 9
^d nergal	SEpM 10:3	PAD-dab ₃	p. 152
ni-qum ^{ki}	SEpM 17:4 (p. 163)	pád	SEpM 6:4 (p. 128),
ní	SEpM 17:3 (p. 163)		SEpM 7:5 (p. 132),
ní-tuku	SEpM 3:4		SEpM 8:9 (p. 138),
nibru ^{ki}	SEpM 7:4, 11, SEpM		SEpM 9:29, SEpM
	8:7, SEpM 18:9, SEpM		20:13, ANL 1:9
	20:1, ANL 6a:8, ANL		

gišpan	SEpM 4:12 (p. 123), SEpM 5:9	sar	SEpM 1:15, SEpM 5:10 (p. 126), 12 (p. 126), SEpM 9:31, SEpM 14:1, SEpM 21:10, ANL 4:10, p. 188 p. 145
peš	SEpM 8:19, SEpM 18:7	ses	p. 145
pu-úh-ru-um	SEpM 1:17, SEpM 14:2 (p. 154)	si	SEpM 8:12 (p. 138), SEpM 18:17, SEpM 19:17, SEpM 20:5 SEpM 8:15, SEpM 18:12
ra		si(g)	
si gù—ra	p. 41, SEpM 14:3 (p. 154, 155)	si-ig	SEpM 10:16 (p. 145), SEpM 17:11 (p. 164), SEpM 20:18
giš—ra	SEpM 1:23	a—si(g)	p. 154, SEpM 14:8 SEpM 2:2 (p. 116), SEpM 3:1, SEpM 4:2, SEpM 5:1
ra-ah		si(g/k)	SEpM 1:14, 17, p. 176
níg—ra-ah	SEpM 20:8 (p. 177)	lul—si	SEpM 22:7 (p. 181)
ra-bi	SEpM 2:2 (p. 116), SEpM 3:1, SEpM 4:2, SEpM 5:1	sig ₁₀	SEpM 8:24
ra-gaba	SEpM 1:11, SEpM 13:9	inim—sig ₁₀	p. 196
ráh	ANL 8:7	siki	SEpM 7:14 (p. 134), p. 152, SEpM 17:13, ANL 11:6
ri	SEpM 8:20	sikil	SEpM 1:4
gú—ri	SEpM 3:6 (p. 119)	silā	SEpM 7:11, SEpM 14:3
ru		silā ₄	SEpM 7:8
a—ru	pp. 38, 39	silim	SEpM 10:11, p. 181, ANL 4:18, 19
sa	SEpM 20:7	sim _x -ma	SEpM 20:6 (p. 177)
sa-dúr	SEpM 13:6	simug	p. 197
sá		^{md} sin-tillati	SEpM 2:2, SEpM 3:1
si—sá	SEpM 7:2 (p. 131), SEpM 17:6, SEpM 22:4, ANL 8:6	sipad	ANL 1:3
sa ₄		su	p. 171, SEpM 19:20
mu—sa ₄	SEpM 19:25, SEpM 20:11, 16	su(b)	p. 117
sa ₆ (g ₉)	p. 46, SEpM 1:2, SEpM 5:5, SEpM 8:24, SEpM 18:1, SEpM 19:4, 24, SEpM 20:7, 9, 11, p. 181, ANL 9:7	^m su-mu-tar-ra	ANL 3:1
sàg	SEpM 10:9, SEpM 12:5, ANL 12:2	sù(b)	SEpM 15:3, 11
saĝ	SEpM 1:23, SEpM 7:14 (p. 134), p. 161, SEpM 17:17	sù(d)	p. 172
saĝ-an-na	SEpM 4:7 (p. 122)	kun—sud	p. 176
saĝ dù-dù	ANL 1:5 (p. 184)	su ₈ (g)	SEpM 2:11 (p. 117)
saĝ ^d en-líl	p. 194, ANL 9:2	sug ₄	SEpM 19:6
saĝ-ki	SEpM 1:7	sul-a-lum	SEpM 8:8 (p. 138)
^m saĝ-lugal-bi-zu	ANL 10:2 (p. 199)	sum ₄	SEpM 6:1 (p. 128)
saĝ ₅		sur	p. 86, SEpM 18:13
igi—saĝ ₅	SEpM 20:7 (p. 177)	súr-dù ^{mušen}	SEpM 8:13
saĝĝa	SEpM 12:1, SEpM 13:2 (p. 151), SEpM 14:6, ANL 6b:2	ša	
sahar	SEpM 1:21, p. 134, p. 151	šu—ša	SEpM 8:18 (p. 139)
		šā(g ₄)	p. 87, SEpM 1:7, SEpM 6:4, SEpM 7:19, SEpM 8:1

	(p. 137), SEpM 17:4, SEpM 18:7, 11, 16, 17, SEpM 20:5, 6, 9, ANL 1:10, ANL 4:21, ANL 10:6	$\dot{\text{g}}\text{is}\text{šudul}_4$ $\text{d}\text{šul-gi}$ $\dot{\text{g}}\text{is}\text{šukur}$ šukur_2	SEpM 7:6 SEpM 9:23 SEpM 5:8 SEpM 13:5, SEpM 20:4 (p. 176)
ša-bi-ta	SEpM 13:5, SEpM 17:12	$\text{d}\text{šul-gi}$ šúm	SEpM 1:28 SEpM 4:7, p. 155, SEpM 20:4 (p. 176), SEpM 21:9, ANL 3:7, ANL 6a:11 SEpM 9:33
ša-ga-dù	SEpM 15:9, SEpM 17:8		
ša-gu ₄	SEpM 13:13 (p. 152)		
ša-gar/šaĝar	p. 160, SEpM 18:11	éšutum	SEpM 9:33
ša-ne-ša ₄	SEpM 8:11, SEpM 19:5		
ša-lá	SEpM 19:6 (p. 172)	táb	p. 155
ša-tam	SEpM 18:6	tag	SEpM 17:17
ša ₄ šc—ša ₄	SEpM 8:10	taka ₄	SEpM 1a:10, SEpM 7:10, SEpM 18:10 (p. 168), SEpM 21:14 p. 197
šabra	SEpM 11:3 (p. 146)	ál—taka ₄ šu—taka ₄	SEpM 2:9, SEpM 5:4, SEpM 7:10 (p. 160), SEpM 21:13
šagina	SEpM 11:1 (p. 146), SEpM 14:5		p. 51, SEpM 1:5, SEpM 6:5, SEpM 7:3, SEpM 8:6, SEpM 15:5 (p. 156), SEpM 18:3, SEpM 19:7
šár	SEpM 19:3	tah	SEpM 13:13 (p. 152)
še	SEpM 1:13, SEpM 8:21		
še-ba	SEpM 4:18 (p. 123)	tah-hu-um	
še(g)	SEpM 5:13, SEpM 12:8	tar	
šeg ₁₂	SEpM 4:10, 17	bar èn—tar	SEpM 6:10 (p. 129), SEpM 17:6 (p. 163), p. 183
šèg	SEpM 6:8	èn—tar	SEpM 1:27, 29, SEpM 7:12 (p. 133), 23, SEpM 15:6 (p. 157), SEpM 18:18, SEpM 19:8, 16, ANL 9:18
šeš	SEpM 8:22, SEpM 15:1, ANL 8:2, ANL 10:6	nam—tar	SEpM 18:19 (p. 170)
šeš-al-du ₁₀	p. 199	te($\hat{\text{g}}_3$) ni—te($\hat{\text{g}}_3$) šu—te($\hat{\text{g}}_3$)	SEpM 3:8 SEpM 18:2, 17 SEpM 7:9 (p. 133), SEpM 21:13, 14, ANL 6a:5, ANL 6b:9
šibir	SEpM 8:4		p. 144, SEpM 10:14, SEpM 19:3, 5, 8, SEpM 20:17
šid	p. 109, SEpM 6:8, SEpM 8:5 (p. 138) SEpM 17:13 (p. 164), p. 188, ANL 9:12	ti-id-nu-um ^{hi}	SEpM 8:4 (p. 137)
šim-mú	SEpM 20:9 (p. 177)	til (to finish)	p. 86, SEpM 7:5 (p. 132), SEpM 11:12, SEpM 18:14
šu	SEpM 1:17, 19, 25, 26, SEpM 5:15, SEpM 8:13	tilla ₂	p. 41
^{na4} šu	p. 140	tir	SEpM 1:18
šu-ku ₆	SEpM 4:13	tu ₅	
ŠU.IGL.DU	p. 35, SEpM 21:6 (p. 179)	a—tu ₅ tu ₆ -ni-lu-sag ₉	SEpM 1:21, p. 134 SEpM 20:2, 11, 16 (p. 175)
šú(š)			
u ₄ —šú	SEpM 15:7		
šub	SEpM 9:6, 11, 16, 21, 26, SEpM 18:11, SEpM 19:12 (pp. 172f.), SEpM 22:3, ANL 9:23 ANL 10:9		
gú—šub			
šub ₆			
eme—šub ₆	SEpM 8:18 (p. 139)		
šubtu ₅	SEpM 2:5 (p. 117)		
šùd	SEpM 7:3 (p. 132), SEpM 19:5 (p. 172)		

túg	SEpM 1:20, p. 134, SEpM 21:12	u ₄ (d)	SEpM 6:3, SEpM 17:3, 4, 18, ANL 4:10 (p. 188)
tuku	SEpM 1:23, 24, 27, SEpM 3:15, SEpM 6:8 (p. 129), SEpM 7:12, 22, SEpM 8:11, 18, p. 144, SEpM 10:8, SEpM 14:4, SEpM 19:16, SEpM 22:12, ANL 1:3, ANL 8:5, ANL 10:5	u ₄ -sakar u ₄ -ul u ₈ ubur ud-til-la udu udu-bar-ĝál udu-su-ga ug ₅	p. 87, SEpM 7:17 p. 46 SEpM 7:8 p. 87, SEpM 7:17, p. 176 SEpM 21:4 (p. 179) SEpM 7:5, ANL 1:3 p. 164 p. 164 SEpM 8:14 (p. 139), 21, SEpM 19:8 pp. 140, 160 SEpM 1:16, SEpM 2:8, 10, SEpM 3:11, 17, SEpM 4:5, 7, 9, 16, SEpM 11:6 p. 87, SEpM 7:13, 17, SEpM 11:10, SEpM 14:4, SEpM 22:8 (p. 181), ANL 9:22 p. 34, SEpM 16:3 (p. 159) SEpM 1:6, SEpM 1a:3, ANL 6a:2 (p. 191) SEpM 19:3, 4, p. 177 SEpM 1:25 p. 46, SEpM 14:11 SEpM 3:18 SEpM 18:4 pp. 35, 47, SEpM 14:7, SEpM 18:9 (p. 168), SEpM 20:1, SEpM 21:6 SEpM 1:3, p. 138 SEpM 9:29 SEpM 1:22, SEpM 8:12, 16, SEpM 20:2, 3 p. 41, SEpM 14:1 p. 139 SEpM 12:2 SEpM 9:13 SEpM 9:22, 23 pp. 43f., SEpM 6:9 SEpM 18:6 ANL 10:5, (p. 200) p. 87, SEpM 7:19
ĝiš—tuku	SEpM 7:3 (p. 132), SEpM 19:6 (p. 172)	ug ₇ ugnim	
igi—tuku	ANL 1:7	ugu	
saĝ—tuku	ANL 1:7 (p. 184)	ugu ₄ ugula ₄	
ĝištukul	SEpM 2:5, SEpM 3:15, SEpM 4:14	ùĝ ukú(r) ^m ul-lí-a ul ₄ ulutim ₂ um-mí-a	
tukum-bi	p. 41, SEpM 2:8, 10, SEpM 4:12, SEpM 6:11, SEpM 11:9, SEpM 13:8, SEpM 19:19, ANL 6a:10, ANL 10:6	umbin unug ^{ki} ur	
tum-ma-al ^{ki}	SEpM 9:4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 30, SEpM 11:5	ur-dun ur-ĝir ₁₅ ^m ur- ^d en-líl-lá ^m ur-lugal ^d ur- ^d namma ^m ur-sa ₆ -ga ur-saĝ ur- ^d suen-a	
túm	SEpM 9:5, 10, 15, 20, 25, p. 179, ANL 1:4	úr ùr ĝiš—ùr	
ki—túm	SEpM 8:21, p. 140	ur ₃ urim ₂ ^{ki}	SEpM 13:14 SEpM 7:22 p. 87, SEpM 6:10, SEpM 16:4
tùm	p. 41, SEpM 1:25, SEpM 6:12, SEpM 7:22, SEpM 11:11, SEpM 12:3, 9, 10, SEpM 17:5, 18 (p. 166)	uru ₂ àm-ma-ir-ra-bi	ANL 4:12 (p. 189)
tum ₉ (u)	SEpM 1:13, SEpM 7:10, SEpM 8:20		
tum ₁₂ ^{mušen}	SEpM 8:10, (p. 138)		
tur	SEpM 4:13, SEpM 7:16, SEpM 8:22, SEpM 11:12, SEpM 12:11, SEpM 18:11, ANL 4:5, ANL 8:3, 12, ANL 9:8, p. 197		
tuš	pp. 34, 87, SEpM 2:8, 10, SEpM 16:6, SEpM 19:14		
durun	SEpM 22:5, ANL 6a:6, ANL 9:7, 10		
ú	SEpM 7:5		
ú-gu	SEpM 6:12		
ù-ne-e-du ₁₁	p. 71		
ù-u ₈ -a-u ₈	SEpM 8:17, SEpM 19:13, p. 197		

ús	SEpM 1:9, SEpM 15:4, ANL 6b:5	zàh	ANL 11:5
^{kuš} usan ₃	ANL 1:6 (p. 184)	zal	ANL 4:10 (p. 188)
úš	SEpM 10:15, SEpM 16:8 (pp. 159f.), SEpM 18:17, SEpM 20:18 p. 192	zalag	SEpM 1:7, SEpM 7:1, SEpM 8:1, p. 168
uš ₇	SEpM 1:23	zarah	SEpM 8:16
ušumgal	SEpM 1:25, SEpM 7:2, SEpM 8:1, 25, SEpM 11:9	zé	pp. 191, 192
^d utu	p. 110	zi-ĝál-edin	p. 188
^d utu-an-dùl	SEpM 17:2	zi-mu-dar ^{ki}	SEpM 1a:5
^{md} UTU.DÙG		zi-pa-âĝ	SEpM 20:12
za-e	p. 87, SEpM 3:8, SEpM 5:7, SEpM 6:6, SEpM 12:7, SEpM 19:8, SEpM 22:9, ANL 4:12, ANL 6a:10, ANL 10:3	zi(d)	SEpM 1:26, SEpM 19:1
^{na4} za-ĝin	SEpM 1:4, SEpM 6:1	zi(g ₃)	SEpM 1:22, SEpM 1a:6, SEpM 2:5, 6, SEpM 8:3, SEpM 11:8, SEpM 17:12, SEpM 19:20, p. 184
zà	ANL 9:20	zíl	SEpM 18:4
zà-mí	p. 68	zír	p. 40
zabar-dab ₃	ANL 10:3	zupp.	47, 52, 87, SEpM 1a:4, 15, SEpM 2:12, SEpM 5:7, SEpM 6:14, SEpM 7:15, SEpM 8:8, 12, SEpM 13:15, SEpM 19:13, 15, SEpM 20:8, SEpM 21:11, ANL 1:5, ANL 8:3, ANL 9:11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 26
zag	SEpM 5:14, ANL 1:9, ANL 3:3	zú-kešda	SEpM 1a:3
záh	SEpM 12:10 (p. 149)	zú-lum	SEpM 1:4
		^m zu-zu	p. 47, SEpM 14:7, SEpM 20:1

INDEX OF REFERENCED TEXTS (not including SEpM and ANL)

Text	Line(s) of Text	CUMO 42 page number
3N-T326 + 3N-T360		82
A 1258 + S 160		8
Aa VI	iv 21–23	155
Aa VII/4	134	157
Aa VII/4	181–2	176
AbB 11 139		169
Abi-cšuh B		65, 66
Adulterer		64, 65
Al		57, 67, 77
	92	145
Angim	1	89, 128
	144	123
AnOr 7, 154		128
AO 5385		68
ARM 1 31	37	125
ARM 3 18	5	178
ARM 14 47	16	162
ARM 26 362		52
ARM 27 1		52
ARM 27 59		52
ARMT 23 384	3	125
AUAM 73.3179		8, 47
AUCT 3, 488		40
BE 3, 70		164
BE 29, 1		57
BER		64, 65, 66, 77, 82, 90
BiFi		64
Bin 5, 136		163
Binning 3		8
BiMes 06, 55		40
BM 54699 (CT 42, 36)		66, 82
BWL 229	30	175
CA	21f.	128
	66	149
	109	90
	154	138
	155–157	33
	219	138
CBS 8037+		67, 68
CBS 9856		77

CBS 10988		77
CBS 11324		67
CH	275ff.	163
CKU 1		16, 17, 18, 19, 72
	9	187
CKU 2		16, 17, 19
CKU 3		16, 17
CKU 5	20f.	134
	27/29	129
CKU 12		41
CKU 13		16, 17, 72
CKU 14	26f.	147
	27	120
	33	159
CKU 20	12	117
	33	122
	37	125
CKU 23		19
	6	155
CKU 25		33
CLAM 98	54	131
CLAM 350	54	131
Copenhagen		
forerunner to Hh XIII	obv col ii 16'	164
CT 17, 39	48, 50	165
CUNES 50-07-013		93, 94
DG		57
	82f.	138
DG	Seg. H 11	90
DI A		68
DI C		68
	11	134
DI G		68
DI O		68
DI P	Seg. B 21	134
DI T	14	134
Dialogue 1	76	33
Dialogue 2	11, 101-2	33
	55	179
	95	120
Dialogue 3	9	120
	140, 177	49
	175	179
Diatrobe B	5	33
Diatrobe C	1-3	33
DuDr	45	117
	60, 62	133
	234, 238, 238	128
Ea	IV 60	176
Eb A		57, 77
ED Lu E	96	159
Edubba A		77

Edubba B	64f.	90, 173
Edubba C	16	155
	70	196
Edubba D	11–14, 28	188
EG	24	132
	155	140
EJN		57
	25	179
ELA	34	90
	251	149
	318	89
	500ff.	95
	539ff.	95
	631	187
EnA		57
EnkNinm		105
	79	157
Enlil A	143, 144	138
EnlNam		5, 64, 65, 70, 76, 77, 80, 82
EnlNinl	151–2	90
EnlSud		105
	59	176
	108	128
EnmEns	185, 209	128
EWO	199	138
	408	145
Exam Text A	27	188
FAOS 15/2 no. 11		152
FI		64, 67
FLP 1287	ii 1–3	41
	ii 4–6	155
FLP 1287	ii 30–31	155
Fowler&Wife		64, 65
Fox&Enlil		64
GEN		39, 145
	204	192
	265	153
	305–6	140
GH		57
Goose&Raven		5, 64, 65, 66, 76, 77, 80, 82
Gudam	44	166
Gudea Cyl A	10.23, 22.2	192
Hammurabi B	7	166
Hendursaĝ A	28	138
HGCS	1	132
Hh I	266–274	155
Hh VIII Emar	117	188
Hh XVI	61a	165
HLC 23	pl. 62 l. 10	157

Home of the Fish	C 2, 4	139
HT	174	139
Hymn to Marduk		65, 66
IB 1511		6, 57
ID E		68
ID R		58, 69
IdD A	224C	186
IdD B		77
IdD D	17	117
IEb		57
InB		57
InDesc	1, 2, 3	197
	22, 110	158
	23, 111	158
	43, 52, 60, 185, 199, 212	159
	235	134
	341	134
InEb	27	137
InF		67, 68, 69
InGd		125
InstrŠur		64
	16	120
InstrUrN		64
In.šag	45	170
	118	120
	163	138
IšD A	81	173
IšD A+V	84	140
IšD B	14	176
	46	166
IšD J	68	
	21f.	128
IšD I	A 35	184
IšE B	B 4	192
Izi E	i 230	138
K 6697 + K 8069		67
Keš Hymn	58L	135
KH		57
Kug-Nanna to Ninšubur	Seg. A 12	172
LazySlaveGirl		15, 63, 64, 65, 77, 81, 82
LiA		57, 77
LiB		5, 57, 76, 77, 82, 92
LiC		68
	5	138
LiD	6	176
Lisina		5, 64, 65, 77, 82
LN	99	173
	215, 270	139
	231	137
LSUr	50	139
	86	126
	87	192

	104	139
	256, 488	137
	301	133
	383	123
Lu I	46	45
Lu-diğira	5	120
	6	157
	27	145
	35	138
Ludlul	I 80–81	139
Lugalbanda I	25	90
Lugalbanda II		132
	48	126
	146	125
	406	123
Lugale	47	192
	110	139
	584	90, 172
	585ff.	172
	693	138
LUnug	67	192
LUr	66	133
	99	169
	291, 295	133
LUruk	42	138
Man&God	114	139
Médecin		3
Millstone		15, 63, 64, 65, 77, 81, 82
MM	137f.	140
MVN 21, 132	4	120
N 4305		67, 68
N 4972		57
NaBi		3, 165
Nanna-manšum to Ninisina		14
	6–7	177
Nanše B		68, 69
Nanše C		78
NATN 868		199
Ni 630	106	140
Ni 4569		68
Ninisina A	20	170
	21	177
	37	175
Ninisina E	18, 26	176
NinĝNina	48, 64, 83	157
Ninšatapada to Rim-Sin		14, 63
NinTurt	Seg B 5	157
Nippur forerunner to Hh XIII	32	164
	101–106	164
Nisaba A		77

NkA		68
NMŠ	138	90, 173
NRVN 1, 224		186
NV A-D		64, 77, 82
NV A		15, 65, 81
NV B		15, 65, 66, 81
NV C		65, 66
NV D		65
NuA		57
	50	139
OB Diri	508	157
OB forerunner Hh VIII-IX	45	188
OB forerunner to Hh XVI	61a	165
OB forerunner to Hh XX-XXIV	5 iii 10	122
OBGT VI	39, 43	166
OB Lu Recension B	col. v 50	16, 63, 81
OB Nippur forerunner to Hh XX-XXIV	113-115	122
OB Nippur Lu	437	152
	450	153
	819	164
OB Nippur PN list B	18	199
OldMan		64, 65, 66, 77, 82
OrSP 47-49, 149		163
OrSP 47-49, 411		40
OSP 2, 134		191
pAnastasi I (Letter of Hori)		100, 101
PBS 5 74	vi 22-vii 6	137
PBS 11/1 55 no. 65		152
PBS 11/1 64 no. 279		152
Poor Man of Nippur	17-20	134
Proto-Aa		77
	210	160
Proto-Diri		92
Proto-Ea		92
	210	160
	319	128
	578-582a	157
Proto-Izi		198
	175	156
Proto-Lu		92, 198
	437	152
	450	153
Proto-Kagal		90, 142
Riddle 1		197
RIME 4.2.14.17		131
RS B	8	134
RS C	22	138

SAK 154	II 43–45	133
Sag B	97	134
Samsu-iluna A	32	168
Samsu-iluna C	5	138
Satire of Trades		101
SgLeg	8	149
	B 10	90, 170
Silbenalphabet B		187
Sin-iddinam E	13	138
Sin-iddinam to Ninisina		14, 72
Sin-iddinam to Utu		14, 63, 99
	28	176
	38	197
SKL		53, 90, 141
SP 2	35	158
	42	120
	48	188
	59	176
	79	132
	107, 117	139
SP 3	87	197f.
	116	133
	150	33, 34, 159
	179	198
SP 5	14	132
	72B	133
	82	139
SP 6	142	160
SP 7	77	198
SP 9		65
SP 13	51	139
SP 15	C 14	89, 147
SP 16	F1	90
SP 21	D3	46
		65
SP 23		65
SP 24		65
SP 28	9	138
SRT		13
STVC 73, 5		128
ŠA		57
	56	173
ŠB	20	197
	57	135
	121	187
	308–315	2
	310	197
ŠU	25	137
ŠV	16	177
šir-nam-šub		68

ŠS C		67, 68
TCL 16, 46	4-5	133
Teaching of Khety		101
TH		152
TH	464	45
TENS 24	2f.	120
TMH NF 1-2, 7		152
TMH NF 1-2, 47		40
TMH NF 1-2, 351, 351b		187
UET 3 415		128
UET 6 60	rev. 2-18	39
UET 6 160	rev. 10, 17	145
UET 6 182		8
UET 6 306	2	160
UET 7 94		111, 169
UHF	799	176
UM 29-13-591		77
UM 29-16-79a		82
UM 89-14-1		6, 57
UrN A	83	145
UrN B	26	138
UrN C	10	132
UrN D		67, 68
UrNin E		68
UTAMI 3, 1935	2	120
Utu-heġal	25	90
VAT 7025 (VS 10, 199)		68
VS 2, 2		57
YBC 4185		72
YBC 4620		8
YBC 4606		72
YBC 4654		72
YBC 5641		8
YBC 7205		8
YBC 7405		72
YBC 8639		8
YBC 9869	iii 27	182
YOS 1 28		155
YOS 1 28	i 20-23	41
YOS 2 17	10	123
YOS 10 45	16	116
YOS 11 70	ii 23'	133
W17259w		8
Warad-Sin 27	46	135
WS	110	139